1971 Jan-June LABOR CHALLENGE, correspondence & documents)
League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière/YS-LJS
**Archival Items*

1971

1971-01Jan22	*Star* clip: ‘’Let schools give free contraceptives: girl,15’’
1971-01Jan18-lc	Protest frameup of Chartrand (Quebec trials)
1971-01Jan-lc23-2	Escalate demands to end repression; LSA – Free Quebec
1971-01Jan-lc23-3	Why we need free abortion (children's welfare)
1971-01Jan-lc23-4	Feb. 13 abortion march coalition – Hospital abortion sit-in
1971-01Jan-lc23-5a	Hugo Blanco wins liberty (Peru)
1971-01Jan-lc23-6	Waffle program for NDP leadership – Nationalize CFI!
1971-01Jan-lc23-7	Young Socialists rally projects fast growth
1971-01Jan-lc23	New Zealand youth radicalize (YS convention)
*1971-Jan-lc23	My Lai trials – put Nixon, generals in dock!
1971-02Feb6-1a	*Star* clip: ‘’Abortion committee finds support increasing’’
1971-02Feb6-2	Minutes of PC: Women, Prairie Tour; Anti-war, NDP
1971-02Feb14	Minutes of PC & CC: Constitution of NC; our Quebec press
1971-02Feb15a	*Globe&Mail* clip:‘’Abortion demonstrators (on Parliament Hill)
1971-02Feb18	Communiqué de presse: 4 militants devant les tribunaux (LSO)
1971-02Feb22-1a	LSA-LSO CO re April 24 anti-war mobilization
1971-02Feb22-2a	CO to all branches re: Quebec defense work (political trials)
1971-02Feb1-lc24	Rally Feb. 13-14 for abortion on demand
1971-02Feb-lc24-2a	Chartrand blasts Quebec trial fraud (WMA)
1971-02Feb-lc24-2b	Free Quebec prisoners, Radical books top the list
*1971-Feb-lc24	Forest scandal tests MB NDP gov't – signing it away (on file)

1971-02Feb-lc24-3	Back Quebec rights, Waffle tells NDP: self-determination key
1971-02Feb15-lc25	Rose, Montreal Five expose gov't frameup (WMA)
1971-02Feb-lc25-2	Toronto protest in Quebec defense; Trudeau WMA probe
1971-02Feb-lc25-3a	Back Quebec rights, Waffle tells NDP (by D. Fidler)
1971-02Feb-lc25-4	(Free abortion on demand!) action shows road forward
1971-02Feb-lc25-5	A women's rights come first, 'defenders of unborn' told
*1971-Feb-lc25	US out of Laos, Cambodia, Vietnam! Protest now
*1971-Feb-lc25	Nixon 'Vietnamizes' Laos, Cambodia
*1971-Feb-lc25	Apr. 24 set for protests against war
*1971-Feb-lc25	Only (Waffler) Laxer poses NDP left alternative (RD)
1971-02Feb-lc25-6	Students fight for parity on ruling body (YS-BC, Sask.)
1971-02Feb-lc25-7	Mideast focus of controversy at York U. teach-in
1971-02Feb-lc25-8	Protests hit Sask. Expulsion threats; Man Waffle defaults
1971-02Feb-lc25-9	Capitalist Europe's crisis, and Canada, by RD
1971-03Mar7	RD note on letter from Europe re FI fund drive
1971-03Mar10	CO to all branches: resolution pamphlet on Quebec printed
1971-03Mar15a	Critique of LC by ex-editor R.D.
1971-03Mar20	Flyer: LSA-YS Socialist Educational Conference, U. of T.
1971-03Mar24	Fund drive (CO) to all branches: a new Quebec journal out
1971-03Mar26	Forum: Poetry as the expression of social concern: Neruda
1971-03Mar28	Free all political prisoners! Repeal the Public Order Act!
1971-03Mar30a	Publications Fund Drive circular: expansion to meet growth
1971-03Mar31a	(PC circular) To all coordinators Quebec defense work

1971-03Mar1-lc26 Laxer answers attacks on Waffle NDP campaign

*1971-Mar-LC26 Laos war deepens, N. Vietnam next? April 24 protest

*1971-Mar-LC26 Ontario NDP backs April 24 protest

1971-03Mar-lc26-2 Anger, pride, unity –Abortion allies in 9 cities

1971-03Mar-lc26-3 Editorial – Meaning of Feb. 13 actions (on abortion)

1971-03Mar-lc26-4 Ruling exposes Trudeau's claims; Victory of 'Mtl. Five'

1971-03Mar-ld26-5a Resurgence of Quebec struggle inspires defence

1971-03Mar-ld26-5b Left mood in Alta. NDP (but lacks Quebec discussion)

1971-03Mar-lc26-6 (NDP leader) Lewis booed on Quebec; Quebec NDP

1971-03Mar-lc26-7 Why Atlantic provinces stay poor (T. Hamilton-Smith)

1971-03Mar15-lc27 Stop new frameup trials! (Editorial on WMA)

1971-03Mar-lc27-1d Canada, exploited by US capital, tself imperialist

1971-03Mar-lc27-2 'Public Order Act' substitute looms

1971-03Mar-lc27-3 Bosses given access to Quebec cops' files (on LSAer)

1971-03Mar-lc27-4 Chartrand queries PQ rôle at 'provisional gov't' rally

1971-03Mar-lc27-5 PQ hardens against left challenge (Paquette-A.Y.)

1971-03Mar-lc27-6 Montreal abortion march marks Int'l Women's Day

*1971-Mar-LC27 China warns US on Laos

*1971-Mar-LC27 Plan actions to combat S-E Asia war –AB, SK, Toronto

1971-03Mar-lc27-7a Behind (NDP leader) Lewis' slanders of 'Waffle'

1971-03Mar-lc27-7c NDP rally fights oil pollution threat -BC border demo

1971-03Mar-lc27-8 $14,750 goal to build socialist press; Maoist hoodlums

1971-03Mar-lc27-9 Czech 'Trotskyists' win trial adjournment

*1971-Mar-LC27	Will these men block US takeover (CIC)
*1971-Mar-lc27	Canada, exploited by US, itself imperialist (R.D.)
*1971-Mar-lc27	Trinidad Black revolutionaries blast Canadian exploitation (file)
1971-03Mar28-lc28	How US investment robs Canadian workers
1971-03Mar-lc28-1b	US takeovers financed by our money!
1971-03Mar-lc28-3	Trudeau stalls on women's rights – Equality on the job
1971-03Mar-lc28-4a	Warm response to Chartrand tour (student solidarity)
1971-03Mar-lc28-5	Socialist candidates win campus elections (at U of T)
*1971-Mar-LC28	Laos war fiasco for US – Nixon seeks escalation
1971-03Mar-lc28-6	World protests hit trials of Czech 'Trotskyists'
1971-03Mar-lc28-7a	Hugo Blanco documents Series 3/3
1971-03Mar-lc28-7b	Hugo Blanco on strategy for workers' power
1971-03Mar-lc28-8	Pledges pour in, lift goal to $16,000; What makes LC
1971-03Mar-lc28-9	Educational parleys reveal growth of YS
*1971-04April	Document of Waffle-NDP: “For an Independent Socialist Canada,”
1971-04Apr1-a	Document: Socialism & Women’s Liberation
1971-04Apr17a	Minutes of the (4th International) United Secretariat (Kent)
1971-04Apr12-lc29	Laos rout builds war April protest against US war!
1971-04Apr-lc29-1b	All out April 24-25! Build protest against US Laos war!
1971-04Apr-lc29-2	Launch war measures inquiry – Photo-widening protests
*1971-Apr-lc29	Pelletier's book bolsters inquiry (of WMA) D. Fidler (file)
*1971-Apr-lc29	(LIS leader Robert) Lemieux on Quebec trials (on file)
1971-04Apr-lc29-3	Editorial- Why we defend all political prisoners

1971-04Apr-lc29-4	Quebec law heralds purge of junior college activists
1971-04Apr-lc29-5	Protest trial of 'Prague 19' at Ottawa Czech embassy
1971-04Apr-lc29-6a	Socialists and women's liberation (photo – anti-Trudeau)
1971-04Apr-lc29-7	Build Mother's Day actions –for control of our bodies
1971-04Apr-lc29-8	Our aim $16,750 by May 1 – August socialist rally
1971-04Apr26-lc30	Waffle challenge to NDP - must adopt socialist course
*1971-Apr-lc30	Attacks on Waffle reflect its popularity -Fidler & RD
1971-04Apr-lc30-2	Editorial- NDP must adopt the socialist course
1971-04Apr-lc30-3	May Day rallies; New Quebec radical paper Libération
*1971-Apr-LC30	Trudeau – Vietnam war criminal
*1971-Apr-LC30	90% vote against war at SFU
*1971-Apr-LC30	When prisoners ran Kingston jail (on file)
1971-04Apr-lc30-4	Why May 8 rallies call free abortion on demand
1971-04Apr-lc30-5	Hundreds of youth expected at Waterloo socialist rally
*1971-Apr-lc30	Chartrand - 'No independence within capitalism' (on file)
1971-05May3a	‘’The Perfidious Role of the British in Indochina” (ICP)
1971-05May 16	(RD in ICP) “The Centenary of the Paris Commune)
1971-05May10-lc31	NDP leaders shaken by left's challenge
1971-05May-lc31-1	Editorial- What convention means for socialists
1971-05May-lc31-1	Waffle, Québécois join forces to defend Quebec rights
1971-05May-lc31-1	Urge NDP back women's liberation (convention debate)
*1971-May-LC31	Photo – NPD rally unites behind antiwar protest
*1971-May-LC31	800,000 in US say 'Out now!'

*1971-May-LC31	Canadians protest Nixon's war – Canadian complicity
*1971-May-LC31	Role of women in history – when women ran the world (file)
1971-05May-lc31-2	French women protest abortion law
1971-05May-lc31-3	All this – for only $3 (*LC* sub drive) Students jailed
1971-05May-lc31-4	Vallières tried for views, Crown admits
1971-05May-lc31-6	LJS confronts senators–May Day march–Students jailed
1971-05May-lc31-7	Massive P.E.I. protests force gov't retreat ('public order')
1971-05May24-lc32	A movement is growing
*1971-May-lc32	Waffle exploses CLC, backs N.S. Fishermen (Letters) (on file)
1971-05May-lc32-2	How revolutionists intervened in NDP convention
1971-05May-lc32-3	Women's liberation and Mother's Day
*1971-May-LC32	US antiwar protests – Only mass action can end war
*1971-May-LC32	50 years of revolutionary socialism (Canadian history)
*1971-May-LC32	On to Waterloo (Socialist educational conference)
1971-05May-lc32-4	Photo- Dowson for Labor Mayor – Toronto 1948
*1971-May-LC32	50 years of revolutionary socialism (in Canada)
1971-05May-lc32-5	Montreal socialist sues Montreal cops for harrassment
1971-05May-lc32-6	Unionist runs for NDP in Quebec by-election
1971-05May-lc32-7	Centennial of the Paris Commune--First workers' government
1971-06June23a	Circular to CC, Branches etc. Re: Waffle and NDP work
1971-06Jun7-lc33	Elect NDP to power in Saskatchewan! (Special issue)
1971-06Jun-lc33-1b	Labor, farmers united vs. Thatcher—Build the NDP campaign
1971-06Jun-lc33-1c	Resources – end sellout through public ownership

1971-06Jun-lc33-1d Women's liberation backed by Sask. NDP program

1971-06Jun-lc33-2 Fredericton NDP in mayoralty bid (a first for NB)

1971-06Jun-lc33-3 Women are un-persons according to gov't census

1971-06Jun-lc33-4 Toronto rally launches Black student defence (SGWU)

*1971-Jun-LC33 Issues point to need for a socialist Saskatchewan (on file)

*1971-Jun-LC33 Saskatchewan campus activists ally with NDP (on file)

*1971-Jun-LC33 New Zealand antiwar protest biggest ever – 35,000

1971-06Jun-lc33-5 Quebec action on July 1 to protest Confederation

1971-06Jun-lc33-6 BC hires special train for Waterloo Aug. conference

1971-06Jun-lc33-7a Campus activists ally with NDP (Student-Faculty control)

1971-06Jun-lc33-8 Women lead Young Socialist plenum, by Kate Alderdice

*1971-Jun-lc33 'Socialists & women's liberation – the mass action strategy'

1971-06Jun-lc33-9 Waffle and labor militants plan strategy for unions

1971-06Jun-lc33-10 30,000 recall Paris Commune; Cuban 'confession' protest

1971-06Jun21-lc34 Repeal anti-abortion laws now! 16 years of school....?

*1971-Jun-lc34 The scandal of jobless youth (on file)

1971-06Jun-lc34-1b Women defy law in W. Germany--CMA boosts campaign

1971-06Jun-lc34-2a Why the Québécois reject bilingualism, by Dick Fidler

1971-06Jun-lc34-2b Big business (in Quebec) speaks English

1971-06Jun-lc34-3 Labor, farmers rally to NDP (Saskatchewan election)

1971-06Jun-lc34-4 BC NDP marks time as Waffle retreats

1971-06Jun-lc34-5 Tours, demonstrations build toward Waterloo conference

*1971-Jun-lc34 Cross-Canada conference to map Fall antiwar actions

NEWS

Jan 22 '71 (TOR. STAR)

REACH FOR A STAR, MOST PEOPLE DO

Let schools give free contraceptives to girl, 15, demands

Toronto students will soon start getting lessons in Grade 7 on birth control and abortion, but not free contraceptives as one girl demanded last night.

In approving expanded sex education for Grades 7 to 13, the Board of Education ignored a 15-year-old girl's argument that fewer pregnant girls would have to leave school if birth control devices were provided.

Debbie Fraleigh, 15, of York Memorial Collegiate, and a member of the Toronto Women's Caucus (high school section), told the board that schools don't teach how to prevent pregnancy.

"You can't ignore the fact that high school women get pregnant, are often expelled and forced into unwanted marriages, poor jobs, and an end to their education," she said.

"Birth control devices should be provided by the school," she told trustees.

The program will begin almost immediately in at least three city schools, still to be named, and staff will be trained to teach the new topics in all other schools.

Trustee William Ross said instruction on preventing and treating venereal disease should also start in Grade 7 because "the disease is more rampant than ever before, and schools can no longer pretend it doesn't exist."

Charles Prince, the physical and health education director, said existing VD instruction in Grades 11 and 12 is being stepped up and a new teachers' guide is being prepared.

The only opposition to the new program came from Trustee Mahlon Beach, who claimed the vast majority of parents would oppose the "atheistic" scheme that offended all "principles of Christian morality."

But Trustee Barry Lowes predicted parents would welcome it as an alternative to "young people pooling their ignorance on street corners."

Protest frameup of Chartrand!

labor Challenge #23 Jan 1971

Chartrand singled out

Que. trials herald harsh legislation

by Robert Dumont

The legal frameup of radical Quebec nationalists took a new turn January 8 when Michel Chartrand, leading Montreal trade unionist, was sentenced to a year in prison for contempt of court.

Chartrand, one of the five leading defendants accused of seditious conspiracy as well as membership in the outlawed Front de Liberation du Quebec, had appeared before Mr. Justice Ouimet to submit a motion for quashing the charges. When Chartrand urged the judge to disqualify himself from the trials on the grounds of prejudicial statements he has made about the persons accused, the judge quickly slapped four convictions of contempt on Chartrand.

In a court appearance the previous day, the labor leader had protested the repeated postponements of his trial. With his trial date now set for February 1, he said, he will have spent almost four months in jail simply awaiting a show trial on illegal and unconstitutional charges.

"How would you like to spend (a further) three weeks in jail, without your wife, without the sun?" he asked. "Who will give me back all this time lost? Somebody will pay me back, I guarantee you that. And they wonder why some people want to blow everything up." (This last sentence was mistranslated in the English newspapers as "The sooner things will blow up, the better.")

Appearing after Chartrand, co-defendant Robert Lemieux, the radical lawyer sought to withdraw a bail application for himself, Pierre Vallières and Charles Gagnon and instead present it to another judge. Lemieux said Mr. Justice Ouimet had threatened him by telling him in private to think twice before defending some of the people accused under the "public order" act.

The trials of those accused of FLQ membership began January 11 and are expected to drag on for several months. The seditious conspiracy trials begin February 1, and the trials of those accused of murdering Pierre Laporte begin February 8. However, the judges are openly threatening to hold over many of the accused to the fall assizes on the grounds there are too many prisoners to deal with this spring. The government, anxious to sustain the atmosphere of crisis and insecurity provided by these serious charges, is clearly in no hurry to dispose of the trials. And as the vicious sentence against Chartrand indicates, it is prepared to throw the book at the political prisoners.

By keeping the repressive Public Order Act on the books, the Ottawa and Quebec governments aim to keep their hands free to continue their arrests and harassment of the Quebec nationalist movement. Just before his departure for Singapore and the Commonwealth conference, Trudeau said he would not revoke the Act until the police gave him "ironclad guarantees" of no further terrorism in Quebec. And, for the first time, he clearly committed his government to introduce during this session permanent repressive legislation along the lines of the present "temporary" measures.

All of the leading prisoners have complained of prison conditions. Chartrand says he is detained "in a five-by-seven cell with no lights, no nothing." Charles Gagnon is reported to be very sick, complaining of stomach pains and eating very little. Some of the political prisoners are on a hunger strike to protest failure to obtain bail.

photo from Quebec-Presse

Michel Chartrand

labor Challenge #23 Jan 1971

photo by Mill

FREE WOMEN PRISONERS, was chant of over 500 who demonstrated New Year's Day outside Tanguay women's prison in Montreal, in solidarity with victims of War Measures Act. Over 200 Young Socialists adjourned their convention to join demonstration.

Escalate demands to end repression

Within 24 hours after Michel Chartrand had been sentenced to a year in jail, 50 demonstrators were picketing Toronto's city hall calling for the release of Chartrand and the other political prisoners.

They distributed leaflets announcing a mass rally in Toronto for January 17, which will be addressed by Jacques Larue-Langlois, one of those accused of seditious conspiracy who is now out on bail. Also expected to attend the meeting is popular chansonnière Pauline Julien, herself arrested under the War Measures Act.

Sponsor of both the city hall demonstration and the meeting is the ad hoc Emergency Committee for the Defense of Political Rights in Quebec, a broad grouping of members and representatives of the New Democratic Party, the League for Socialist Action, Young Socialists, Voice of Women, the Law Union, and others.

Protests are snowballing in Quebec against the repressive laws and the victimization of the political prisoners. Among recent developments:

— a report by the Montreal Civil Liberties Union, headed by Trudeau's close acquaintance Jacques Hebert, protesting "abuses" of those detained under the War Measures Act. It details evidence of beatings, long interrogations, "severely restricted diet," unsanitary conditions in detention cells — "conditions unworthy of a civilized country" — and almost universal denial of rights to prisoners who have been held incommunicado, contrary to the law;

— 200 eminent lawyers and jurists have signed a petition demanding immediate revocation of the emergency powers act "because this law is ambiguous, imprecise, arbitrary and because it violates the fundamental principles or presumption of innocence, of the non-retroactivity of the law and the separation of powers; in sum because it constitutes a misunderstanding and contempt for the fundamental rights of Quebec citizens." Among its signatories are the deans of the University of Montreal and Laval law schools, and other prominent legal authorities;

— a "Committee of 8" prominent Quebec personalities, including labor leaders, professors, and a newspaper publisher, have called on Premier Bourassa and Prime Minister Trudeau to revoke the emergency powers act;

— the trade union federations have all demanded an end to the repressive laws.

— the Mouvement pour la defense des prisonniers politiques Quebecois held large militant demonstrations on Christmas and New Year's Days outside the prisons where war measures victims are being held.

In English Canada, the labor movement continues, with few exceptions, to keep silent about the emergency laws and the political trials. However, NDP deputy leader David Lewis has called for immediate revoking of the public order act, and endorsed demands from Quebec civil liberties organizations that those arrested under the War Measures Act be compensated for loss of jobs and personal property confiscated by police.

LSA enjoins House body: Free Quebec

VANCOUVER, January 10 — The League for Socialist Action today called on the parliamentary committee on the Canadian constitution to investigate and condemn the violations of the constitutional liberties of the Quebecois.

In an oral submission to the joint Senate-House of Commons committee on the constitution, which is holding public hearings here, Phil Courneyeur issued the following statement. It was received in stony silence by the commissioners, but applauded by many in the audience.

"Two days ago in Montreal, a Canadian court judge sentenced Michel Chartrand, leader of the Montreal Central Council of the Confederation of National Trade Unions, to a year in prison for 'contempt' of court.

"This unusually crude effort to gag Chartrand flows logically from the massive campaign of repression launched by the federal Ottawa government under the cover of the War Measures Act and the Public Order Temporary Measures Act against the mass movement for independence in Quebec.

"No constitutional commission with a speck of clarity about democratic rights and civil liberties can stand by silent while laws are passed which specifically violate the Bill of Rights, laws which have been used to jail supporters of Quebec independence merely for their ideas.

"This commission should suspend its normal operation in order to devote special attention to the continuing violations of civil liberties in Quebec. The commission cannot function seriously, can have no credibility, dignity or honor while democratic rights are being destroyed in Montreal and while the jails are occupied by political prisoners.

"When will the political prisoners be freed?

"Does this commission — on the "Canadian constitution" — recognize the democratic right of the people of Quebec to national self-determination and independence?

"We say:

"Free all political prisoners now!

"Investigate the federal government conspiracy against democratic rights of the Quebecois!

"For the right of the Quebecois to self-determination and independence!"

labor Challenge

For children's welfare, women's freedom

Why we need free abortion

by P. Schulz

A cross-country campaign for free abortion on demand is now underway, and will culminate with a march on Ottawa February 13, backed by support actions in other cities.

Why have women's liberationists chosen the right to abortion as the focus of a major campaign?

True, a law to "liberalize" abortion laws was passed. But legal abortions remain a small part of the total. In the first year after the law was passed there were only 85 legal abortions in Quebec, where only 14 of 250 hospitals have abortion approval committees. The vast majority desiring abortion still face the choice of bearing an unwanted child or seeking an illegal abortion — from which many women do not emerge alive.

The abortion question continues to arouse the strongest reactions pro and con. For example three out of four of the dissenting statements by members of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women brought up this issue. It receives more press coverage than any other Royal Commission demand.

The demand for free abortion affects all women of child-bearing age. No woman is yet free from the crisis of unwanted pregnancy and the unavailability of abortions — with the repercussions of loss of jobs, interruption of education, broken personal relationships and intolerable financial strains.

Unwanted children in our society often face a terrible existence with natural parents unable to cope with their problems or in one foster home or institution after another. Free abortion on demand would make "unwanted children" a concept of the past. In the last analysis it is our final guarantee that we control our own bodies. Yes, we want birth control information and devices widely and freely distributed — but abortions will still be necessary.

The demand for control of our own bodies is in many ways pivotal to our total liberation. Unplanned pregnancy is the rationalization for much of the discrimination against us in other areas.

For example, the threat of pregnancy is used to justify on a practical basis the double standard, promiscuity for men and chastity for women (except, of course, within the confines of a marriage). It is also used to bolster discrimination against women in hiring and in salaries. Free abortion on demand cuts against these arguments in helping to enable childbirth to become planned, timed, controlled.

photo by White

FREE ABORTION NOW was demand of Dec. 23 torchlight procession through downtown Toronto shopping area, to publicize upcoming Feb. 13 campaign. Theme of action was "Every child a wanted child, every mother a willing mother."

Society's attitude towards abortion is part of the way it has tied sex to marriage and marriage to the support of children.

Capitalist society, first proclaiming the bearing of children as the only legitimate purpose of sex for women, has then placed the total responsibility for their support on the parents. Its sole contribution has been free education for a limited period.

This situation, with its consequent lack of equal opportunity for children and its, in many cases, intolerable burden on parents oppresses us all.

Completely tied in with the demand for abortion are demands that society take on its responsibility for the raising of children. This must include 24-hour free child-care centers, low-cost housing, free medical care, free education at all levels, equal pay for equal work for women, substantially increased and universal family allowances, and pay for housewives. It requires the full mobilization of society's material resources and personnel.

The capitalist rulers of this country oppose abortion as they oppose social responsibility for children. They strive to maintain child-bearing and child-rearing as a woman's solitary and often desperate duty, sustained by the legal compulsion exemplified by abortion laws. The winning of free abortion on demand is a crucial step towards woman's right to determine her own future in a society of equality and personal freedom.

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Coalition prepares for Feb. 13 abortion march

by Jacquie Henderson

A broad coalition was formed in Toronto January 11 to spearhead the cross-Canada campaign now underway for free abortions on demand.

Thirty women from a dozen different organizations founded the Feb. 13 Abortion Campaign Committee, which will be a central organizing body for the demonstration planned in Ottawa on that day. Other Feb. 13 actions are being planned across the country.

In British Columbia campaign supporters will march on the legislature in Victoria in late January and present their demands to the minister of health.

The Toronto meeting was opened by Liz Barkley of the Toronto Women's Caucus, initiator of the meeting, who presented the need for a strong alliance to carry through the abortion campaign originally launched at the Saskatoon women's conference in November.

She reported on the successful torchlight procession held by the Caucus Dec. 23 around the theme, "Every child a wanted child, every mother a willing mother."

Organizations represented included the Women's Liberation Movement, the University of Toronto Women's Caucus, the Toronto Women's Caucus, the Women's Coalition, the Association for the Repeal of Canadian Abortion Laws (ARCAL), the League for Socialist Action, the Young Socialists, the Unitarian Social Action Committee, and others. The University of Toronto Students Administrative Council sent an observer, and women's groups in Richmond Hill and Kingston were also represented.

Those present agreed to recommend to their groups to support the committee, and to meet every Monday at the TWG headquarters to plan the campaign.

Building actions projected in Toronto for Feb. 13 include a brief to the city council demanding it act to enable Toronto women to get free, safe, legal abortions, an "abortion day" at the University of Toronto Feb. 3, and a public forum organized by ARCAL featuring Grace MacInnis, NDP MP and out-spoken abortion advocate.

The committee decided to support these actions and to participate in the projected poor people's march January 25.

Hospital sit-in demands right to abortion

by Dena Blumenthal

Montreal's Women's Liberation Movement led a sit-in at Royal Victoria Hospital, December 10 for free abortion on demand, following a debate at which the head of the hospital's gynaecology department refused to appear to defend its "abortion is murder" policy.

The debate, organized by the McGill Debating Society, turned into a pro-abortion meeting when all the opponents of abortion who were invited to speak failed to appear. Dr. Henry Morgantaler, charged with conspiring to commit an abortion shortly after last May's Abortion Caravan to Ottawa which he addressed, and Dr. Eric Saibel, who organized a petition for abortion law repeal after Morgantaler's arrest, spoke for abortion on demand.

Women's Liberation representatives, in calling on the audience to demonstrate with them, explained the grave situation at Royal Victoria Hospital, where nearly all abortions are refused, apparently due to the violent personal opposition of Dr. Maughan, the head of the gynaecology department as well as head of the hospital's abortion board. A medical student related some incidents where the doctor had expressed to his students his complete contempt for women, calling them "strange animals."

One hundred of the 150 attending the debate marched to the hospital, occupied the lobby and demanded that Maughan come to speak to them. They held their ground for an hour, conducting a discussion of the meaning of the action. After reading a communique to the press they adjourned to the Women's Center to discuss further actions, not only against Royal Victoria, but against the French hospitals as well.

The abortion situation in Montreal is grotesque: of the estimated 10-20,000 abortions that take place annually, only [illegible] were performed legally in the first 11 months of 1970. Of these, only one was performed in a French hospital. The figures are from the Centre de Planning Familial, which held a press conference in mid-December to protest the abortion laws and the arrogance of the French (i.e., Catholic) hospitals in Quebec.

The Women's Liberation abortion action group is now meeting with other opponents of the abortion laws to plan further actions for the end of January and February 14.

labor Challenge
#23 Jan 1971

Creus still in prison

Hugo Blanco wins liberty

A Dec. 22 Reuters dispatch from Lima, Peru announcing that Hugo Blanco was among "about 100 political prisoners" freed that day, signaled a great victory for the entire Latin American revolutionary movement.

The government of General Velasco Alvarado signed an amnesty Dec. 21. Besides the Trotskyist peasant union leader, it included the well-known revolutionists Hector Bejar and Ricardo Gadea.

But at least fourteen political prisoners are still held, including Blanco's comrade and cellmate Eduardo Creus, an Argentine revolutionist.

Captured by the Peruvian military in 1963, Blanco was twice threatened with judicial murder, his life being saved in both instances only by a massive campaign of international protest.

Spearheaded by the Fourth International, the world Trotskyist organization, the defense campaign which has culminated in Blanco's freedom attained unprecedented breadth and scope, reaching far beyond the ranks of his comrades.

Demonstrations, resolutions, appeals were launched around the world — Japan, France, Canada, the U.S., Belgium, England, Scotland, Greece, Italy, Chile, Sweden, West Germany, Nigeria, India, Mexico, Argentina, as well as in Peru.

Blanco received the support of Amnesty International, Jean-Paul Sartre, Bertrand Russell, the Chilean MIR (Movement of the Revolutionary Left), English Labor MPs, the Quebec Federation of Labor, the Italian General Confederation of Labor, the Walloon Workers party and numerous other organizations and figures.

Nearly 400 participants in the 1967 Socialist Scholars Conference in New York signed an amnesty petition.

Hugo Blanco grew up in Cuzco, where he saw first-hand the desperate poverty of the oppressed Indian masses who make up a majority of Peru's people. From his youth he spoke Quechua, their language, as well as Spanish.

In the early '50s, he went to Argentina where he studied agronomy and worked as an active unionist in a meat-packing plant. Returning to Peru he helped organize the giant demonstrations at the time of the visit of then vice-president Richard Nixon. Forced to flee Lima, he returned to Cuzco where he and his comrades began to organize peasant unions.

In the upsurge of the Latin American revolution inspired by the Cuban example, Hugo Blanco became a legendary figure in Peru. Working among the landless peasants of the valley of La Convención in the Cuzco region, he organized unions to defend the rights of the landless against the hacendados (big landowners).

Blanco translated the Trotskyist program of mass struggle in accordance with Peruvian conditions. In the winter of 1962 and the spring of 1963, the revolutionary peasant unions led by him engaged in large-scale "recuperations" of lands illegally held by the hacendados.

The landowners responded with army and police attacks, and in the ensuing battles, several soldiers were killed. Hunted by the military, Blanco was successfully hidden by the peasants until his capture.

In a book published in 1964, Hugo Neira of the Lima daily Express described the peasants' attitude toward Blanco:

"Fought by the right, his image distorted by prestige due to erroneous reports about him being a guerrilla fighter, injured by the silence, if not sabotage, of the traditional, bureaucratic groups of Communism, extolled by the FIR (Front of the Revolutionary Left) feared and hated by the. . .hacendados, admired by the union ranks, Hugo Blanco looms over the whole South.

"Devotion to Blanco is total. I am referring to the organized peasants. 'He is our chief', they say. And in every peasant home there is an empty bed. It's the one that was waiting hopefully for the leader when he was going around the region organizing or when he was passing during the night fleeing from the police."

Support for Blanco extended into the urban working class as well, as evidenced by a 24 hour general strike demanding his release that paralyzed the city of Cuzco in December 1963.

This photo of Eduardo Creus (left) and Hugo Blanco was taken in secret and smuggled out of El Fronton prison in

The Cuban leaders, especially Che Guevara, were impressed by the importance of his work despite being at variance with his tactical approach.

Héctor Béjar, in his book, Peru 1965: Notes on a Guerrilla Experience, describes the impact of Blanco's movement on the radicalizing Peruvian youth, many of whom were under the influence of the CP's anti-Trotskyism.

After seven and a half years in prison, three of them in solitary confinement and the rest on the notoriously brutal prison island of El Frontón, Blanco naturally found himself, as he put it in an interview in the Dec. 24 issue of the Lima weekly Oiga, "disoriented". But he repeated his basic conceptions with the greatest firmness.

"I believe only in the socialist revolution," he said. "I am a militant in the Trotskyist movement; and I probably always will be."

Blanco attributes the amnesty to the international defense campaign and adds

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that an immediate factor is the desire by the Velasco regime to gain popular support.

The revolutionary leader asked that the following message be sent to "USLA," organizer of his defense in the United States:

"I want to thank all the organizations and individuals who joined the many

rs' campaign for my freedom. They ed my life at the time of my trial and they have won my release. I ask that those to whom I owe gratitude now open a campaign for Eduardo Creus and the ers who are still in prison. I ask them to t the same way they fought to win edom for me."

After failing to get any answers from ernment officials who claim Creus is a political prisoner, a defense committee was set up in Lima and immediately began distributing literature scribing why the others too are political soners and should also be freed.

The Comite de Defensa de los Derechos manos (CODDEH — Committee for the fence of Human Rights) which directed campaign in Peru for the prisoners' lease, was jubilant over the great vicy achieved.

The organization sponsored a giant tival in Lima December 30 to celebrate. me 10,000 attended and heard speeches freed prisoners.

Hugo Blanco talked about the problems the peasantry and the need for funmental agrarian reform, as well as lking of the plight of political prisoners the jails of the Latin American dictorships, calling for their release.

He received a huge ovation and was rried off in a triumphal march on the oulders of the cheering crowd.

(adapted from Intercontinental Press)

labor Challenge
#23

Defense work here helped free Blanco

Canadians have a right to be proud of the significant role the international campaign to free Hugo Blanco played through the extensive actions on his behalf in this country.

The protest united scores of prominent intellectuals and academics, labor leaders and labor organizations, NDPers and student organizations.

The campaign was launched by a meeting of nearly 100 in Toronto in January, 1967, initiated by Robert McCarthy, who coordinated defense efforts in English Canada. The broadly sponsored meeting was addressed by, among others Andre Gunder Frank, author of Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America, Kenneth Golby of Amnesty International, Ross Dowson of the League for Socialist Action.

The main speeches at this meeting were published by Robert McCarthy in a pamphlet entitled Hugo Blanco Must Not Die, which sold in the thousands across the country and gave invaluable publicity to the case.

While a Canadian Labor Congress spokesman repeated CIA slanders against Blanco, impressive support came from the Canadian labor movement. The protest was endorsed by the Quebec Federation of Labor, the Calgary Labor Council, and the Halifax and Dartmouth District Labor Council.

The most impressive response from a local union came in May 1967 from the Association des Pompiers (firemen) of Montreal. In their protest for Peruvian prisoners, signed by all members of their union and addressed to then president Belaunde Terry of Peru, they declared, "4,000 firemen demand their freedom."

In Quebec the Comité de Solidarite avec les Victimes de Repression en Perou gathered support from large numbers of prominent figures.

The campaign was in many ways a model of nonpartisan defense, uniting those of many points of view, and persisting in its efforts through all the various developments in the case, until Hugo Blanco was freed.

The task is now to finish the job, by securing the release of Eduardo Creus and the remaining Peruvian political prisoners from jail.

Nationalize CFI! – Manitoba Waffle

JANUARY 12 — The crisis of Manitoba's Churchill Forest Industries moved into a new phase January 9 as the New Democratic Party provincial government placed the $100-million complex under receivership.

The industry will now be managed and brought into full production by the government, hopefully in time for the March 31 qualification date for a $15-million federal grant. Whether the Schreyer government intends to place the industry under permanent public ownership, or permit it to return to private hands, remains unclear.

A top official for Churchill Forest Industries, George Litton, denied that the complex was in default. He blustered that the firms involved would fight the takeover all the way through due process of law.

But the four companies making up the complex were over three months overdue on a $2,900,000 interest payment to the government, were apparently being sued by other unpaid creditors and were falling behind the agreed schedule for bringing the complex into production — despite the receipt of virtually all of the $92-million in government loans promised them in the original agreement. According to the January 12 Globe and Mail, they may not have invested a penny of their own money in the project.

The CFI debacle certainly verifies Schreyer's original judgement of its deal with the previous Tory government as "the blackest moment in Manitoba's economic history." Under the terms of this agreement, the timber rights to no less than a sixth of the province, 40,000 square miles, were given away for $1 an acre.

In addition, government loans were to finance 85 percent of the project, and granted a further array of concessions ranging from exemption from municipal taxes and pollution laws to free reforestation and free sand and gravel for roads.

If the NDP government failed to act against the CFI sell-out on taking office, its imposition of receivership now clears the way for a solution of the crisis.

Private enterprise, unable to finance the project except through government handouts, has now proven unable even to manage it. The last conceivable excuse for private ownership has vanished.

As we go to press, the left wing of the Manitoba NDP, organized in the Waffle movement, has launched a major campaign to get the Schreyer government to nationalize CFI.

The NDP government must now carry through nationalization so that the industry, already paid for by the working people of Manitoba, can be developed in their interest.

Waffle plans program for NDP leadership race

About 30 left-wing NDP members from across the country met in Regina over New Year's for a four day conference to hammer out policies for the Waffle group's intervention in the April federal NDP leadership convention.

The December 31-January 3 meeting of the national Waffle steering committee considered policy papers on energy resources, women, Quebec, regional economic development, public ownership, agriculture, foreign policy and extra-parliamentary activity. The conference was closed to all representatives of the press.

A strong call for public ownership of the key sectors of the economy and recognition of Quebec's right to self-determination are reported to represent the key proposals in the program the Waffle group will present to the federal convention delegates.

Jim Laxer, Waffle candidate for the federal party leadership, told a Regina press conference that the Waffle program includes a statement requesting that women hold 50 percent of the party's executive positions.

All policies agreed upon in Regina are to be widely circulated to Waffle supporters and discussed at local meetings within the next two weeks. To be submitted to the federal convention, these resolutions must be adopted by riding associations.

Among other decisions of the Regina conference was the hiring of a full-time organizer Steve Penner, who is to begin immediately concentrating on constituency-level work in the important Toronto area, and publication of an 8-12 page tabloid newspaper as the major piece of campaign literature. John Smart of Kingston is to be Laxer's campaign manager.

The Regina conference also considered expanding the Waffle slate for party leadership positions on the executive and federal council. This will be finalized, however, during the convention itself.

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Young Socialists rally projects fast growth

by Kate Alderdice

Over 210 young socialists met in occupied Montreal December 31 - January 2, in the 5th bi-national convention of the Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes/ Young Socialists.

Delegates attended from every province except Prince Edward Island, in what was the largest gathering of revolutionary youth in this country in many decades.

The convention delegates travelled the equivalent of seven times around the world to meet and discuss during that weekend! Many of them were veterans of important struggles in their high school or campus, or leaders in the antiwar and women's liberation movements — including one young woman who was a protest candidate for homecoming queen in her Vancouver high school.

Thirty-five per cent of those present were women, and the average age was just over twenty-one. Almost half the convention had been in the LJS/ YS for less than one year. Several people requested to join during the convention. Representatives attended the convention from revolutionary socialist movements around the world, including Britain, Belgium, France, New Zealand, and the United States.

JOE YOUNG, newly-elected executive secretary of the YS/ LJS.

The dominant theme of the convention was the opposition to the bitter government repression of the independentist movement in Quebec, and the growing campaign to defend the victims of the War Measures Act.

The LJS, itself one of the first victims of the War Measures Act, was, along with the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, the only organization to stand up to the federal and Quebec governments, and to mount a campaign against the repression.

One of the most important decisions of the convention was to continue the campaign in both Quebec and English Canada to free the political prisoners. On January 1, the convention suspended its discussions to take part in a demonstration at Tanguay prison on behalf of the women prisoners.

In her presentation of the resolution "Students and the Quebec Revolution," Manon Léger, candidate of the LJS and LSO for mayor of Montreal, declared the determination of the LJS/ YS to carry forward the struggle for an independent and socialist Quebec.

A second major campaign was undertaken by the convention, and that is the building of the February 13 and 14 actions across the country for free abortion on demand. Since the inception of the women's liberation movements, members of the LJS/ YS have been leaders in it.

The convention reaffirmed the need for a mass-action oriented movement of women from all sectors of society, united on those issues which bear down upon them most harshly — issues like the right to abortion. The February actions will be the first major cross-country actions of the movement since the initiation of the abortion campaign one year ago.

The main discussion before the convention was the challenge facing the LJS/ YS as the radicalization of young people becomes more profound and widespread.

The convention noted a lull, at least in English Canada, in the intensity of protests against the oppressive conditions facing youth, especially in education. Yet the experiences of the YS, and its rapid growth, show clearly that more and more young people are rebelling against the daily violence of capitalism, and searching for an alternative.

Young Socialists convention in Montreal comes to a close with singing of the Internationale.

This continuing radicalization posed the challenge to the convention of how to reach out and win these youth to socialism, and assume the leadership of the student movement in the coming period. From this flowed its decision to rally the LJS/ YS behind two important campaigns — for free abortions and against the repression in Quebec.

One of the convention's major tasks was the strengthening of its leadership body, the Executive Council, posed with the challenges of the rapid geographic expansion of the movement and its growing opportunities.

The new Executive Council of 11 members includes a large proportion of newer and younger members, reflecting the need to accelerate the development of the YS/ LJS's leadership and reorient it towards the new possibilities for growth.

As part of the campaign to reach out and find the radicalizing youth in every Canadian city and town, two regional organizers were elected by the Executive Council, one for the Prairies and one for southern Ontario.

The new executive secretary of the LJS/ YS is Joe Young. The incoming Executive Council also elected Carole Oleniuk as Prairie organizer, Kirsty Alderdice as organizational secretary, and Manon Léger to the newly-created post of Quebec national organizer.

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Interview with socialist editor

New Zealand youth radicalize

Among the fraternal guests at the Young Socialists convention in Montreal was Hugh Fyson, a 22-year-old revolutionary socialist from New Zealand. Fyson is editor of Socialist Action, a twice-monthly newspaper which reflects the views of the Trotskyist Socialist Action League. He was interviewed for Labor Challenge by Dick Fidler.

Labor Challenge: The Commonwealth conference will be held in Singapore next week and New Zealand and Canada are of course participants in this remnant of the British Empire. What do you think will be the position of the New Zealand government on the key question which appears to be shaping up, that of British arms sales to South Africa?

Hugh Fyson: It's impossible to predict exactly whether the "National" or Tory government of New Zealand will support the arms sales or not. In general, they would like to see the South African regime get as many arms as possible. New Zealand has a long history of collaboration with South Africa, and wants very much to expand its trade with this fellow white "Dominion" in the southern hemisphere.

However, the New Zealand ruling class has to appear to reconcile this policy with its own internal policy of allegedly promoting racial harmony and racial equality. So they might not come out openly in favor of selling arms; they might take a "neutral" stand. In addition, they don't want to do anything to antagonize Britain, which is New Zealand's main trading partner.

One of the main weapons the New Zealand ruling class uses to promote the idea that South Africa is a friendly country is sport. Sport in New Zealand is very popular; for many it takes the place of religion. In 1970 the most contentious issue in the whole of national politics was the sending of our top rugby team, the All Blacks, to play in South Africa against teams for which only white people are eligible for selection. We as socialists participated in mass demonstrations to stop this. We call on New Zealand to discontinue *all* relations with South Africa — diplomatic and trading ties, as well as sporting ties — so long as it practices this system of apartheid.

LC: What is the significance of the Commonwealth for New Zealand? How is it that a country as small as this has such close links with far-off Great Britain?

Fyson: For New Zealand, the Commonwealth link is based on New Zealand's economic dependence on Britain. Ever since its foundation as a colony of Britain, New Zealand has been deeply dependent on its exports to Britain and its imports from Britain.

Hugh Fyson

By giving political legitimacy to the British link in the minds of the population, the Commonwealth helps to perpetuate this distorted trading pattern, which completely ignores New Zealand's vast potential markets in the workers states, China and the Soviet Union, and in neighboring Southeast Asia.

LC: What effect do you think Britain's impending entry into the European Economic Community will have on this long-standing special relationship between New Zealand and Britain?

Fyson: It will have very far-reaching effects. At present, 80 percent of New Zealand's exports are agricultural and 40 percent of its exports go to Britain. A very large proportion of the remainder goes to other parts of Europe. To avoid a rapid rise in unemployment, the ruin of New Zealand agriculture, in short a serious social crisis, the New Zealand government is very anxious to preserve the stability of capitalism by negotiating some kind of temporary arrangement whereby British tariffs would be applied only very gradually, say, over a five-year period.

LC: What is the extent of U.S. influence in New Zealand?

Fyson: The main imperialist force in New Zealand is still by far Great Britain. The United States, however, is becoming more involved in New Zealand. Anti-U.S. feeling, such as it is, is mainly directed against American military strategy around the world. For example, the biggest anti-U.S. demonstration in New Zealand was against the installation of a large American radar unit for the guidance of Polaris submarines.

LC: What are the main areas of radicalization in New Zealand today, and how does the Socialist Action League intervene in them?

Fyson: The main areas are the antiwar movement, women's liberation, the Maori question, and the general radicalization of the working class. Briefly on each of these.

New Zealand has troops in Vietnam, fighting alongside the Americans; they've been there since 1965. While they're only a token force, their political significance is considerable in bolstering the American morale. There is a considerable movement of opposition to the troops being in Vietnam that has been sustained over the five-year period.

The Socialist Action League has intervened in this movement to build it into a mass-oriented, growth-oriented movement — which it has become. We have been key initiators of recent mass demonstrations around the demand "Immediate Withdrawal of All New Zealand, Australian and U.S. Forces from Indochina."

Women's liberation came to New Zealand only at the beginning of 1970, but has quickly become a subject of much discussion throughout the population. The organized movement is still very small. Our women comrades are active in building these groups, and our publications have been real pioneers in the field. We are planning to launch a broad campaign for legalized, free abortion in the coming months.

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The Maoris — a Polynesian people who came to New Zealand 600 years before the Europeans, and now constitute eight percent of the population — are also mobilizing. Half the Maori people are under the age of 15. And they're moving in large numbers into the cities. A militant Maori movement is developing around such demands as Maori community social centers in the cities, teaching of their language in schools, and above all that the Maori people should be allowed to continue their communal forms of land ownership.

The Trotskyists are the only political tendency that supports the right of self-determination for the Maoris, whom we believe constitute a distinct nation. All other tendencies, including the Stalinists, subscribe to the reactionary and chauvinistic concepts of "assimilation" and "integration" of Maoris into white — capitalist — society.

The workers are radicalizing around the immediate issues of rising prices and the efforts of the government to curtail the rights of the trade unions. New sectors like the postal workers and teachers are organizing in militant actions.

The main fact of political life for the working class in New Zealand is the Labor party. But the Labor party has not yet affected any of the radicalization. I think this is because the radicalization hasn't reached a political level. The workers' consciousness is still at the level of working to get a Labor government elected.

As long as workers have got that perspective, socialists have got to orient towards the Labor party which will inevitably reflect the radicalization; they must be prepared to enter the party and become actively involved in those day-to-day struggles that will develop between the radicalizing workers and the reformist misleaders who now head the party. For the Socialist Action League, this is a long-term perspective. But we plan to build inside the Labor party for the coming antiwar mobilization schedule for April 30.

As for the other tendencies — the Communist party has since the war undergone one split after another. Since the Sino-Soviet split of the early 1960s, it has been Maoist, and is today based almost entirely in one city, Auckland. Recently CPers in Wellington split from the Auckland group. There is also another Maoist group and a pro-Moscow grouping — taken together, all these groups would only number two or three hundred members at most.

LC: Can you tell us something about the Socialist Action League — when it was formed, its composition, its activities, and its perspectives?

Fyson: The SAL was formed 16 months ago and we are the first Trotskyist movement in New Zealand. We began with only half a dozen members and we've now got branches in the three main cities. Our membership is overwhelmingly youthful but our essential role is not primarily that of a youth movement, but as the nucleus of a revolutionary party. We maintain a national office and put out a bi-weekly newspaper.

I would sum up the overall situation by saying that the radicalization is deepening on all fronts in New Zealand society. Yet the other currents on the left, from the leadership of the Labor party to the ultraleft, sectarian CP, are incapable of taking this radicalization in a socialist direction and building mass anticapitalist movements. The paralysis of these forces means that a great vacuum of leadership is being generated on the left. In the immediate future, it means that the Socialist Action League can aim to move out and become the strongest tendency to the left of the Labor party leadership.

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FEB - 6 1971

Abortion committee finds support is increasing

By LOTTA DEMPSEY
Star staff writer

"Unwantedness" may be a major condition of pregnancy, accentuating ordinary symptoms of nausea, vomiting and fatigue, to the point of adversely affecting the fetus.

This is the opinion of Dr. Warren M. Stern, one of the U.S. government's chief family planning experts.

"Abortion is the indicated treatment," Dr. Stern told the American Anthropological Association recently. He charged physicians with mixed feelings about birth control, abortion and sterilization "largely because they view the female as essentially a reproductive machine."

Found changes

Dr. Stern is right in line with increasing numbers of Canadians supporting free abortion campaigns.

When the Abortion Campaign Committee here began planning a march on Ottawa Feb. 13, they found the public climate vastly changed from last year's lethargy or sometimes outright opposition. Day and night the committee rooms at 188 Adelaide St. W. (368-6583) are swamped with calls, mail and visitors.

"High schoolers, university students, housewives, working girls . . . they're calling from Guelph, Peterborough, Sault Ste. Marie, Brockville, Sud-

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PAM FURLOTTE, LEFT, DEBBIE FRALEIGH AND MRS. LYN HEMBLEN
They're getting posters ready for Abortion Campaign march to Ottawa, Feb. 13

← p. 1 Toronto STAR

bury, as well as Metro, said York Memorial High School teacher Pam Furlotte, one of the volunteer workers.

Registered letters have been sent to the Prime Minister, Opposition Leader Robert Standfield, NDP leader T. C. Douglas, Justice Minister John Turner, federal Health Minister John Munro and others.

Young and vital

Buses for the Ottawa march leave Toronto at 7 a.m. next Sunday, from 188 Adelaide St. W., returning the same evening. Cost per adult, $10; students $8; children $5.

I spent a coupie of hours in the committee rooms the other night and was struck by the numbers of young, vital people involved. It's a salutary experience to anyone visualizing abortion campaign committee workers as strident, voracious women with a grudge against men.

Several husbands and male friends were helping with paste pail, brushes and posters as the bright, cheery group prepared to set out on early evening duty, spreading the word and putting up bills.

"Talking to people in supermarkets, in neighborhood groups, or just along the street, you find so much interest and support," 15-year-old Debbie Fraleigh said. Debbie, a student at York Memorial Collegiate, found her parents somewhat concerned at first by the interest she and her friends were showing in this important issue.

"But now they're paying my way to Ottawa . . . and even gave me $5 for the committee funds," she said.

Love children

Young husband Trevor Berry not only will drive his wife to Ottawa and back for the Confront Ottawa march, they'll take along 10 - month - old Charles and Allyson, 3. And Trevor will babysit with his, and other children, while Carol, a registered nurse now busy as a housewife, takes part in the march.

"A lot of us involved are housewives, not women who want to rush off to jobs," Carol Berry said. "But we feel, loving our children as we do, that only wanted children should be born. And that women should be able to control what happens to their own bodies."

I talked with Trevor, an Ontario Human Rights counsellor.

"Our society tends to raise males to assume a dominant role and this is subconsciously carried through in marriage. Reading and studying this thing with Carol, I've realized some of the resentments women have and why."

University student Lorna Grant feels the campaign is growing on college campuses among both men and women because the tragedy of an unwanted pregnancy can affect their futures so vitally.

"There's a lot riding on whether you finish school and get going on a career," she said. "We all know about the botched abortion; or the shotgun marriage which ties down both man and woman and often makes for bitterness and unhappiness."

Two mothers of grown-up children, Mrs. Helen Claus and Mrs. Kit Evans, are equally involved.

"I taught at a trainging

"I taught at a training at one time," Mrs. Evans, now with a Toronto publishing firm, said. "I saw plenty of what can happen to unwanted children. There were 10- and 12-year-old boys who didn't know the difference between Miss and Mrs. They called everybody Miss."

'Taking fire'

And the high-schoolers?

"That's where it's really taking fire . . . in the collegiates," Debbie said. "Quite apart from the fact that pregnancy can mean the end of school or a forced, often unsuccessful marriage, the anguish and terror of the girl involved, held to herself for weeks or months, is a terrible thing to happen to a human being."

So many of these women, and men, I found, weren't out looking for a cause. The cause, one for which a vast, silent majority is cheering them on, came looking for them.

They were not found wanting.

MINUTES OF THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE MEETING, FEBRUARY 6,1971 CONVENED 8.30

Attendance: Chair: Fleming; Secretary: Macdonald; S. of A.: Crandall; P.C. Present: Brock, Brennan, Connolly, Laboisiere, Saunders, Maxwell, Fleming, Kent, Crandall, Ruby, Macdonald; P.C. Absent: Whitton; Invited: ~~L.A.~~

Minutes: Minutes of P.C. Meeting of Jan. 21 adopted as read .

Women's Liberation: Report on Feb. 13 action by L.A.; discussion: projection of maintenance of abortion issue through cross country local activities on May 9, Mothers day and actions March 8 on a wider range of Women's Liberation issues around the theme: Women unite - sisterhood is powerful" on March 8, International Women's Day. m/c to adopt the report and recommendations.

Membership: m/c to defer transfer of M.A. from Hamilton to Toronto; m/c to transfer M.P. from Halifax to Toronto, where he would drop his youth membership and devote his time to league activity.

Prarie Tour Report: Report by Kent; further expansion of activity around expulsion threat in Sask NDP is not projected for the next period; projected transfers of prarie comrades to take effect in the coming months: P.K. from Saskatoon to Montreal; R.T. from Saskatoon to Toronto; P.C. from Vancouver to Toronto; B.H. from Edmonton to east; m/c to adopt general direction of transfers outlined and refer to the YS/LSA bureaux the question of replacements in the prarie operation.

Anti-war: report by Fleming on anti-war personell; m/c to move Z.B. into full time anti-war activity with Fleming retaining his present position; m/c Fleming to be cross country anti-war co-ordinator for the P.C.

NDP: report by Macdonald on general approach to NDP convention and Waffle leadership campaign; m/c to adopt the report.

Central Office: report by Connolly.

Typesetting: Report by Brock.

Quebec Defence: Report by Connolly on projected War Measures Act inquiry in Waterloo.

New Business:
Richmond Hill: Possibilities for Y.S. local.
Circulation of southern branch circulars to LSA branches: report by Kent.

Adjournment: 11.30 pm

MINUTES OF MEETING OF THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE AND CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS, LIVING IN MONTREAL; CONVENED 10.20 A.M., FEBRUARY 14, 1971

Attendance: Chair: Eliot, Natalie; Secretary: Scarlett; P.C. Present: Crandall, Kent, Brock, Saunders, Maxwell, Whitton, Brennan, Connolly; P.C. Absent: Ruby, Fleming, Macdonald, Laboisiere; Montreal Central Committee Members Present: Natalie, Claude, Scarlett, Charbonneau, Paquette, Bourhis; Montreal C.C. members absent: Riviere; Montreal Alternate C.C. Members Present: Eliot; Invited: C.H.S.

Agenda: m/c to adopt as proposed, with Charbonneau reporting on the constitution of the National Committee and defence work; and Paquette reporting on the press and the NDP, and Bourhis reporting on union movement in Quebec.

Draft Constitution of the National Committee: Report by Charbonneau; m/c that section 3(a) be amended to read as follows:

> "The National Committee is responsible for the application of line adopted by the pan-Canadian Convention of the LSA/LSO in Quebec and elaborating it between conventions under the direction of the Central Committee."

m/c in section 2(b), to replace the words "revolutionary socialists" with "Trotskyists".

m/c in section 3(e) to change "Political Committee" to "Central Committee".

m/c that section 2(a) be amended to read as follows:

> "The National Committee is composed of all members and alternates '...'" and to add another sentence at the end which reads: "The alternates will have voice but not vote."

m/c to adopt the constitution as amended.

Press in Quebec: Paquette reported; m/c that the editorial board be: Paquette, Natalie, Bourhis, Charbonneau and Claude; m/c that the paper's name be discussed by the editorial board and then adopted by the National Committee; m/c that there be a subscription drive of 400 subs to start April 1, and that the Central Office send out correspondence to ask all branches to participate and that the Central Office work out quotas for branches.

Quebec Defence Work: discussion; m/c to get the ECDPRQ to take initiative in contacting other English Canadian defence committees, with a view to arranging in collaboration with MDPPQ a cross-Canada tour for one or more of Montreal Five; m/c to hold symbolic actions across Canada for the 23rd of Feb. (now March 3) in solidarity with the demonstrations planned for that date in Quebec.

Lunch: 1.00pm to 2pm

NDP: Report by Paquette; m/c to adopt the report including a proposal to put out a leaflet for distribution to the Quebec NDP convention, setting forth our opposition to any alliance with the P.Q. and urging dissidents who support the principle of independent labor political action to join the LSO.

Trade Union: report by Bourhis; m/c to adopt the report.

Anti-war: m/c to set April 24 as the day we will project in Canada for the spring anti-war offensive.

New Business: Trinidad: report by Crandall; m/c that we move behind the tour of two of the arrested militants from the Trinidad uprising

Women's Liberation: report by Maxwell on the successful Ottawa action Feb. 13; the main conclusions accepted by the strategy meeting which followed the demonstration were to carry the next abortion action May 9 in localized actions, and to hold women's liberation actions around broader themes on March 8, and to hold a cross country women's liberation conference later this year; and to use the Velvet Fist to coordinate the movement.
Membership: m/c to transfer G.R. from Montreal to Chibougoumau;

Adjournment: 3.45pm

Several women's liberation groups marched on Parliament Hill on Saturday, insisting on free abortion on demand. —CP

Abortion demonstrators kept out in the cold

By JOHN BURNS
Globe and Mail Reporter

OTTAWA — About 200 demonstrators, mostly from Toronto, sought unsuccessfully to gain entrance to the Parliament Buildings on Saturday to present their demands for liberalized abortion laws.

Chilled by a cold wind and blowing snow, the demonstrators milled around in front of the Peace Tower, chanting slogans and denouncing the Government for barring their way.

Across the road, about 90 supporters of the Alliance for Life—a group which opposes any change in the abortion legislation—stood in silent vigil.

Young women predominated in both groups.

Before the Toronto group arrived, an alliance spokesman read a statement denouncing advocates of liberalized abortion laws for propagating "glib half-truths and mindless slogans."

The statement challenged those seeking changes in the law to a debate on national television. On arrival, Pam Furlotte, 25, a spokesman for the Toronto demonstrators, promptly accepted. Time for the debate will be sought from the networks.

The Toronto group arrived in four busloads, joining smaller groups from Ottawa and Montreal at the Supreme Court Building for the march on the Parliament Buildings.

Finding the entrance to the buildings barred by RCMP officers, they waited for 20 minutes, then gave up, leaving a mock coffin behind a a symbol of the deaths resulting from back-street abortions.

"We will be back in even greater numbers. We will not give up until we have our rights," declared Miss Furlotte, a teacher at York Memorial Collegiate Institute.

"Let's break the doors down," cried one youth, exciting no response from the protesters.

A group of Ottawa-based marxists, adherents of the World Socialist Front, stood at the rear of the demonstrators, but appeared content to play a minor role.

The protest was organized by the Toronto Women's Caucus, an alliance of women's liberation groups. It was timed to coincide with the first anniversary of the departure from Vancouver of demonstrators who trekked across the country to participate in the first major protest against the abortion laws, held on Parliament Hill last May.

On that occasion, the demonstrators denounced Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau for failing to delegate a member of the cabinet to meet with the protesters.

On Saturday, with Mr. Trudeau and more than half the cabinet in Saskatchewan the only politicians present at the protest were Gordon Fairweather (PC, Fundy—Royal) and Senator William Benedickson (Lib., Ontario). Neither spoke.

Miss Furlotte said the group had written twice to Mr. Trudeau without receiving a reply. She said appeals to other MPs for use of the Railway Committee Room, a standard meeting place for protest groups, had been similarly unavailing.

TORONTO STAR

FEB 15 1971

Abortion advocates in four cities underline demands with coffins

OTTAWA (CP) — Demonstrators in at least four Canadian centres Saturday emphasized, with symbolic coffins, their request for free abortion on demand.

In three of the centres, demonstrators were faced with counter-protests by a group called Alliance for Life, and in Ottawa both sides agreed to a national television debate if one can be arranged.

The scenes were similar in Fredericton, Halifax and Vancouver. Marches were followed by speeches on the demand that all abortion regulations be removed from the Criminal Code.

At Brandon, Man., however, about 40 women crashed a banquet in honor of T. C. Douglas, national New Democratic Party leader, and demanded time to speak.

Given two minutes, one woman read a list of demands, then the group left.

The black coffins, several of which contained knitting needles, coat hangers and other items often used to induce an illegal abortion, were left behind by the demonstrators when the protests ended.

A spokesman for the Ottawa group said the coffins symbolize the fate of women who cannot afford a trip abroad for an abortion and must resort to "back-alley butchers."

Alliance for Life demonstrators argued that the pro-abortionists cannot produce statistics to prove their contention that many women are maimed and killed through illegal abortions.

The pro-abortionists at Ottawa, many of them from Toronto, marched 700-strong to Parliament Hill through a heavy snowstorm. No government members greeted them.

A Montreal physician, Dr. Henry Morgenthaler, told the group present abortion laws discriminate against women.

"They condemn women to die and to be injured for no crime at all," he said. "Man goes scot-free, as you know."

About 50 persons marched to the downtown federal building in Fredericton, chanting "Trudeau, Turner, what do you say? How many women did you kill today."

Jane Likely, a member of a Fredericton women's liberation group, said the majority of women who get abortions "are middle-class women who can afford to go to other countries for them, or can afford the cost of proving that pregnancy would endanger their physical or mental health."

Fifty persons, about half men, marched through heavy rain in downtown Halifax, distributing leaflets on abortion. One bore the slogan "Killing is a man's job—Make it a woman's right."

A small group of pro-abortion marchers stayed only a few minutes at Vancouver court house but left behind a coffin with a sign reading "Canada's abortion laws murder women."

B.C. men plan strike to win parity with women liberationists

What happened Feb. 18 ?

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COMMUNIQUE DE PRESSE-COMMUNIQUE DE PRESSE-COMMUNIQUE DE PRESSE-COMMUNIQUE DE PRESSE

Quatre militants socialistes sont trainés devant les tribunaux pour simple délit de parole et d'expression publique,pour avoir porté "quelques drapeau,étendard,bannière...écriteau"(article 375,reglement minicipal).Ceci lors des dernières élections municipales de Montréal,en protestation contre la présenve des forces armées canadiennes au Québec.

A partir d'articles du règlement électoral plus ou moins confus et interprétable à façon,ces quatre personnes,cibles dans cette campagne de répression que connait le Québec,après avoir plaidé non-coupable,subiront un procès le I8 février où les autorités municipales et leur justice peuvent les condamner à 200 dollars d'amende et/ou 6 mois de prison.

Ces accusations contre Manon Léger(candidate cintre Drapeau)et trois de ses partisans,démontre,déclare Jean Hérivault(organisateur de la campagne Léger)"le caractère anti-démocratique de tout règlement institué par les possédants,servant spécifiquement les buts de ces possédants contre toute opposition populaire".

Leurs règlements laissent toute latitude aux riches de se servir de tous les moyens que le peuple travailleur a produit,d'employer de façom illimitée les moyens d'information et autres et interdisent toute campagne électorale militante par les travailleurs,qui ne peuvent exprimer librement leurs opinions faute de posséder les moyens dont disposent les riches,les privant ainsi de leur droit de participer dans les élections.

Les raisons majeures de ces poursuites,déclare Jean Hérivault,"sont les mêmes que celles qui ont amenées les mesures de guerre et s'inscrit dans la campagne de répression faisant partie de l'attaque générale des trois gouvernements contre le mouvement syndical et le mouvement nationaliste dont quatre représentants sont actuellement devant les tribunaux.

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Sa valeur de vérité complète de ?

— démonstrative ? — autre, quelle ?

— preuve factuelle ?

Pour tout renseignement,contacter:Jean Hérivault
861-3018

LSA/LSO CENTRAL OFFICE
334 Queen St W. Toronto
2b, Ontario.

Feb 22,1971

To all branches, locals, members at large:
Re: April 24 anti-war mobilization.

Dear comrades:

The escalation of the war in S.E.Asia, makes it imperative for us to move out boldly in our anti-war work.

The U.S. government is consciously stepping up its aggression in Indochina with rumours of a possible invasion of North Vietnam and even the use of tactical nuclear weapons.

It is essential that we move as quickly as possible to re-establish united front anti-war committees on an active basis. This should be centrered around building actions for the International Day of Protest, April 24.

There has been some difficulty in the Vietnam Mobilization Committee in Toronto, over the questiom of April 24. Last week the Stalinist and pacifist forces on the VMC executive pushed through May 2nd as the central date for the spring action. We are mobilizing for a committee meeting this week which we are confident will reverse this decision.

The Stalinists used the argument that the NDP convention which ends in Ottawa on April 24 would overshadow the anti-war actions and tie up many of the anti-war activists. Underlying their position however, is the fact that the U.S. stalinists are not participating in the main anti-war group, The National Peace Action Coalition but are working in the Peoples Coalition for Peace and Freedom which has a multi-issue character. They are attempting to establish May 2nd as the date for the actions.

At the SMC conference this past weekend in Washington, April 24th was overwhelmingly adopted by the 2000 participants. and it appears that the May 2nd position is crumbling.

We should fight stromgly for the April 24th date - because it is the international date. we have always linked the Canadian anti-war movement with the international movement, which is necessary to end the war. It is extremely valuable for us to challenge the NDP convention to come out and demonstrate at that time - April 23rd if April 24th is not convenient. We have some indication that the waffle will support this move. A news report indicated that the Ontario NDP provincial council meeting this weekend passed a resolution in support of the April 24 Mobilization.

At any rate the NDP convention does not involve either the activists or the numbers that come out on anti-war demonstrations. A secondary argument is the fact that May 2nd comes only one week before the May 9th abortion actions which will involve some of the same people. It is not advisable to have two such actions so close together.

It is important for the mass action single issue wing of the U.S. anti-war movement that the Canadian movement support their perspective and the date that they have set. Even if clear political differences do not arise out of the proposal for May 2nd instead of April 24, the implication is support for the multi-issue orientation of the May 2nd actions in the U.S.

The question of the date is not a question around which we would want to have a split in the anti-war movement. More fundamental political questions would have to arise before we would contemplate this perspective. This is not expected.

Letters and statements from committees across the country which have adopted April 24 should be sent to the VMC, 241 Victoria St. Toronto 205.

Adequate forces should be struck off in all areas to lead in building a response to Nixon's escalation.

In addition within the general themes of withdraw U.S. Troops Now and End Canadian Complicity comrades should attempt to relate the war issue to questions such as the resources sell out, Americanization of the University, arms sales, diplomatic complicity of the government (get Canada off the ICC), campus research and recruitment, pollution, the economy etc.

Let's here from you!

hear

Comradely,

Carl Fleming
Cross-country anti-war
Co-ordinator. (LSA/LSO)

Joe Young, Exec. Sec.
YS/LJS

LSA/LSO Central Office
334 Queen St. W. Toronto
2b Ontario.

Feb., 22,1971

To all branches, locals and members at large:
Re: Quebec Defense work.

Dear Comrades:

The next issue of Labor Challenge (March 1st) contains important articles on developments in the Montreal political trials.

The quashing of the seditious conspiracy charges against the Montreal Five marks a major setback for the repressive campaign of the Trudeau and Bourassa governments, and a big victory for the defense campaign. We should take advantage of this victory to press forward the defense campaign in English Canada.

We do not yet have sufficient evidence to gauge the impact of the Montreal development on the defense movement. In the short run it may serve to defuse the developing protest movement. On the other hand, in the longer run, it is a powerful confirmation that the government had absolutely no evidence whatsoever of any "conspiracy" let alone an "apprehended insurrection" -- when it invoked the War Measures Act last October.

The credibility gap can develop into a yawning chasm - and we have ev - interest in encouraging such a development. The War Measures crisis has epitomized Trudeau's response - and the response of the Canadian bourgeoisie - to the Quebec independentist movement. Continued exposure of the meaning of Ottawa's action can eventually turn the crisis into a major political defeat for Trudeau.

Despite its inability to make any of the charges stick, the government is proceeding with the FLQ membership trials of the 7 alleged FLQers beginning March 1st. These include the Montreal Five. Moreover, the Trudeau government has not withdrawn its pledge to introduce permanent repressive legislation before the end of April when the present Public Order Act expires.

At a joint meeting of the Political Committee and the National Committee of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere, it was decided to carry forward the defence in the next period by attemptimg to organize a cross-Canada tour for one or more of the Montreal Five, preferably Michel Chartrand.

It is projected that we establish the Emergency Committee to Defend Political Rights in Québec (ECDPRQ), a Toronto committee under our leadership and around which we have managed to draw a considerable number of independents, as the cross country co-ordinator for this tour.

It is important that there be a central coordinator in English Canada for such actions; since our Quebec friends in the Mouvement pour la Defense des Prisonniers Politique (MDPPQ) or the Comite Quebecois pour la Defense des Libertes (CQDL), with whom we must arrange these tours, do not know the Canadian left and prefer to deal with a minimum of organizations. It seems to us the ECDPRQ is best able to fill this role.

Specifically this means that comrades in branches outside Toronto must encourage their local committees to authorize the ECDPRQ to coordinate the projected tour (arrange speaker, tentative schedule, information for publicity etc.) The ECDPRQ will be putting out a circular to all defense committees along the above lines and comrades should respond to it immediately.

Through this projected tour, the ECDPRQ can become the coordinating committee for all of English Canada and like the VMC exercise a certain authority in initiating actions and organizing tours. This means that comrades outside the centre must ensure that the ECDPRQ receives copies of all communications and leaflets published by local Quebec defense committees and that insofar as possible all requests for speakers from Quebec be channelled through the ECDPRQ.

In this way we will be able to build the movement in English Canada far more effectively as a cohesive unified movement and consequently achieve more cooperation from the Quebec defense committees.

Address of the ECDPRQ is 87 Mayfield Toronto Ontario. Phone 763-5989, 466-3994.

One additional note: The Waterloo war Measures Commission of Inquiry Project has had some problems lately. However, we are on the way to resolving these and anticipate moving out in a big way in the near future. More on that later.

Comradely,

Dick Fidler
Cross-country coordinator
Quebec Defense work (LSA/LSO)

Joe Young
Exec. Sec. YS/LJS

Rally Feb. 13-14 for abortion on demand

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The mass media -a socialist view

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Vol. 2, No. 2 (24) February 1, 1971 15 cents

Wide backing for Feb. 13 abortion march

by Judy Koch

Across Canada women will be demonstrating on Feb. 13-14 for free abortion on demand.

Women from Ontario as well as representatives from the rest of Canada will be converging on Ottawa for a march on Parliament Hill, to be followed by an indoor meeting.

In British Columbia abortion advocates will confront the government with a major demonstration in Victoria Feb. 14.

These demonstrations, and others across the country, represent growing numbers of women fed up with the total disregard for their rights and lives by governments which refuse to grant the right to abortion.

The Ottawa action is receiving growing support, particularly from NDP circles. The action has been endorsed by Stephen Lewis, leader of the Ontario NDP, Jim Laxer, Waffle candidate for the NDP federal leadership, NDP Ontario MPPs Jim and Margaret Renwick, and Krista Maeots of the NDP Women's Liberation group.

Doris Anderson, editor of Chatelaine, leading trade unionist Grace Hartman, June Callwood and Bruno Gerussi have also endorsed the action.

The posters announcing the Ottawa action proclaim as its theme, "Every child a wanted child, every mother a willing mother."

Despite Trudeau's phony abortion law reform, unwanted children are still born because women cannot obtain abortions — leaving many children to be neglected and mistreated by parents unable to meet their needs.

In addition tens of thousands of women must yearly undergo extremely dangerous illegal abortions. It is estimated that botched abortions still send thousands to hospital every year and kill hundreds.

A recent public opinion poll shows 44 percent of the population in favor of abortion on demand — revealing Trudeau's blatant hypocrisy in saying that lack of public support prevents his government from reforming abortion laws.

Now even the government's own Royal Commission on the Status of Women has come out in favor of the right to abortion.

The government is responding to the situation in its usual manner. Trudeau announced a two-day debate on abortion in parliament — but added that all parties must agree or the whole issue would be shelved. He knows quite well that with the tiny Social Credit party opposed to abortion, agreement is impossible. Women can no longer tolerate this toying around when their lives are at stake.

Sponsoring organizations in Toronto for the Feb. 14 action include all the main women's liberation groups: the Toronto Women's Caucus, the New Feminists, the Abortion Collective of the Women's Liberation Movement, as well as the League for Socialist Action, the Young Socialists and the Just Society.

Buses will be leaving Toronto at 7:00 a.m. from 188 Adelaide St. W. on Feb. 13. They will arrive in Ottawa at noon and return that evening.

For further information, contact the Abortion Campaign Committee, 188 Adelaide W., tel. 368-6583. In Vancouver contact the campaign at 1776 Alberin, tel. 684-3535.

Everyone is urged to demonstrate against the unjust abortion laws and tell the government loudly and clearly that it must act now since the lives of women are at stake.

Make hospitals grant abortion on demand

Toronto Women's Caucus tells City Hall

Two Toronto actions in recent weeks for the right to abortion have attracted wide attention and gathered new support for the February campaign.

On Jan. 20 Toronto Abortion Action Committee supporters picketed City Hall at a meeting where various aldermen were to be appointed to boards of city hospitals.

They demanded that city council commit its aldermen representatives on hospital boards to the following measures:

1) fight for repeal of abortion laws from the criminal code and for the elimination of abortion committees so women can have free abortion on demand;

2) in the meantime, instruct the abortion committees to give abortions to all women who want them;

3) establish abortion clinics and outpatient services in hospitals for abortion on a wide scale, and set up abortion information services.

Alderman Sewell read the letter they presented to the Council and demanded that prospective members state their views on it. They all refused.

The Abortion Action Committee will be restating these demands in a more detailed brief to be presented to city council and the local board of health.

In Toronto on Jan. 21 the high school supporters of the Toronto Women's Caucus held a demonstration in front of a meeting of the Toronto board of education in support of a proposal put forward by the management committee of the board calling for lessons in birth control and abortion.

Debbie Fraleigh, a spokeswoman for the group made a presentation to the board. She expressed support for the recommendation and called for the schools to supply birth control devices and information on obtaining abortions. After many objections the board passed the original proposal, adding a provision that parents had the right to exempt children from the course.

labor Challenge

#24 Feb 1971

Chartrand blasts Que. trial fraud

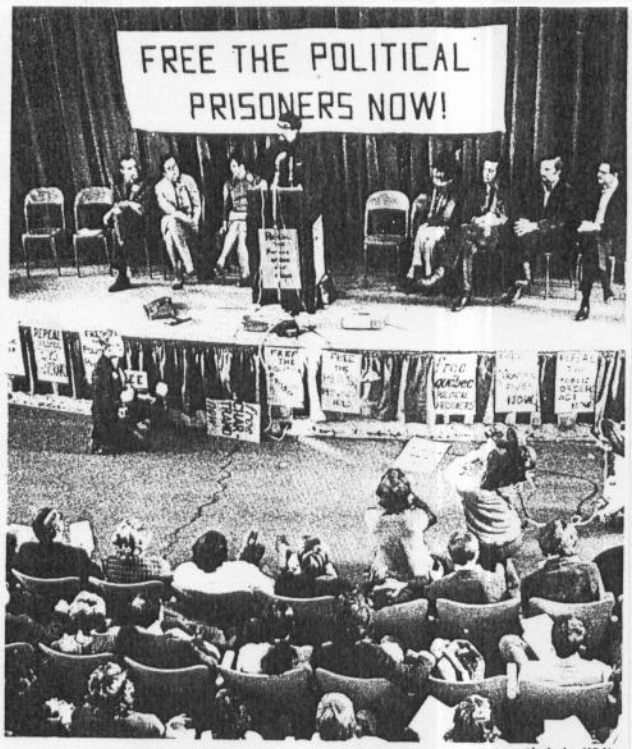

photo by White

TORONTO DEFENSE RALLY. Jacques Larue-Langlois, charged with seditious conspiracy and FLQ membership under the War Measures Act, speaks to a rally of 500 in defense of Quebec political prisoners Jan. 17. Seated on platform from left: Dr. Gustavo Tolentino, Prof. Ursula Franklin, Diana Chastain, Pauline Julien, Gerald Godin, Guy Marsolais, Clayton Ruby.

Free Quebec prisoners Montreal protest demands

by Penny Simpson

MONTREAL, Jan. 23 — The defense of the Quebec political prisoners took a new step forward this week with what is the largest political demonstration even to take place in winter in Montreal.

Nearly 1,500 people marched in front of the Palais de Justice (courthouse) Wednesday to demand the release of the prisoners now being tried on charges of seditious conspiracy and membership in the outlawed FLQ. The demonstration, which lasted for 35 minutes in zero degree weather, was spirited and in no way intimidated by the enormous police squad armed to the teeth with their special "riot" equipment.

This was the first coordinated protest against the trials sponsored by both the Mouvement pour la Defense des Prison-

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by Robert Dumont

The trial of the five leading defendants charged with seditious conspiracy and FLQ membership is scheduled to begin Feb. 1 in Montreal.

Michel Chartrand, Robert Lemieux, Pierre Vallieres, Charles Gagnon and Jacques Larue-Langlois will appear in court amid growing indications that the trials of alleged FLQers, which began in mid-January, already become a serious political embarrassment to the Quebec and Ottawa governments.

The authorities are doing all they can to harass and intimidate the defendants, to prevent their case from being heard. Undeterred, the accused are seizing every opportunity offered by the trials to expose "the chicanery of bourgeois justice" and the political nature of the charges.

Just how flimsy those charges are was indicated by the case of Robert Langevin, the first of the FLQ defendants to come to trial. The only evidence the Crown could offer of Langevin's seditious intent was a high school exercise book found behind a bookcase in his home when police raided it in late October. The scribblings in the book speculate on how a guerrilla movement with exactly 3,060 members could bring off a revolution in Quebec in exactly one year and five months. The jury deliberated less than an hour before acquitting the youth of seditious libel.

In a Jan. 14 application for habeas corpus, asking the court to show cause why they should not be released, Chartrand, Lemieux, Vallieres and Gagnon once again challenged the constitutionality of the repressive laws, and exposed the political objectives behind their victimization.

They reminded the court that no proof of an "apprehended insurrection" — the supposed justification for the repression — had ever been submitted by officials at any level of government. As for the "Turner Act," the Public Order Act which outlaws the FLQ, the leading defendants challenged the constitutional right of the government, as the executive power, to judge the legality or illegality of any political association.

The Act, they noted, is explicitly contrary to the Bill of Rights in that it creates a class of retroactive offenses, and reverses the normal presumption of innocence until proven guilty, obliging the accused to prove beyond a reasonable doubt that he is not a member of the now-illegal organization, in this case the FLQ. This the accused cannot do: since the organization declared illegal has always been clandestine, there cannot exist any material proof of the accused's non-membership. All he can do is declare that he has quit or never was a member. But this is not sufficient to reverse the presumption of guilt, which requires that his non-membership be proved beyond a reasonable doubt.

"In other words," the defendants conclude, "according to Article 8 of the Turner Act,' pretty well anyone can be falsely convicted for supposed membership in the 'illegal association,' and it is impossible to disprove the charge."

Moreover, the charge of seditious conspiracy, they state, is "extremely vague," it covers a very long period from Jan. 1, 1968 — during most of this period Vallieres and Gagnon were in jail! — and it is based on the assumption that if the defendants individually uttered seditious words, they are therefore collectively guilty of a seditious conspiracy, "which is strictly speaking, absurd."

Appearing for the petition in court, Michel Chartrand denounced the arbitrary character of the charges: "The 'lettres de cachet' of (Quebec justice minister) Jerome Choquette were abolished in France in 1790. . .This is 1970. Are we going to go back to the French laws of the 18th century?"

The trials are being conducted contrary to all the principles of British law, he declared, citing (in English) such documents as the Magna Charta and the British North America Act. "We are living in a British colony where we are subjected to all the disadvantages and enjoy none of the advantages."

Turning the tables on his accusers, Chartrand, a leading Montreal trade union leader, pointed to the real conspirators: ". . .It's easy to prove that the Liberals are criminally conspiring with international brigands to bring about the deaths of human beings in Vietnam, to enslave whole populations to capitalist exploitation. Canada is one of their biggest suppliers of arms. The bandits are not in front of you, Your Honor, they are in parliament. James Cross saw the guys of the FLQ, he saw more of them than those who have made 'lettres de cachet', and he said that it (the FLQ) was a small group of seven or eight kids who wanted to make the revolution.

"Pierre Laporte was killed by the Liberal government of Quebec on the orders of Trudeau who sacrificed a life to 'raison d'Etat' — the prestige of his government — because he is afraid and prefers to hide behind his war measures rather than talk about the real problems."

Chartrand and his co-defendants have pointed to the real political issues behind the Montreal trials. And the FLQ defendants are using the political trials to expose other unsavory aspects of the judicial system. Many of them have challenged the Quebec Jury Act, which explicitly prohibits women from serving on juries, as contrary to the Canadian Bill of Rights.

But will the defendants be allowed to plead their case? Many have been refused their requests to be defended by Lemieux, the imprisoned defense lawyer — although the right to a lawyer of one's choice is considered fundamental in Canadian law.

The vicious one-year contempt sentence hurled against Chartrand — and a 15-month contempt sentence against another defendant, Jean Boisjoly — indicate how fearful the authorities are of allowing the truth to be heard. They are now threatening to enclose some of the leading defendants in soundproof glass cages, so the press cannot report their words in court. The Montreal Five are threatened with separate trials, although they have prepared their defense together.

But whatever the government does, the pointed courtroom appeal of Michel Chartrand is certain to find a growing echo among wide layers of the Quebec people: "Is it seditious conspiracy to have repeated what everyone knows you've been thinking for a long time?"

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niers Politiques Quebecois (MDPPQ) and the Comite Quebecois pour la Defense des Libertes (CQDL). It coincided with another demonstration of several hundred at the legislature in Quebec City.

For the last two weeks, new layers have demonstrated their opposition to the political trials. Two of the most conservative faculties at the University of Montreal — Law and Engineering — held demonstrations of about 300 each outside the courthouse against the vicious contempt sentence of one year against labor leader Michel Chartrand, one of the leading "sedition" defendants.

Although both demonstrations lasted only about ten minutes until the police dispersed them, they had considerable impact, especially that of the law students. CEGEP students have also picketed the court house in the past week.

These actions are being followed up by further demonstrations in the coming weeks. Ex-detainees will be travelling to the capital Jan. 24 by chartered bus from all parts of Quebec to protest the repression and demand that the government compensate the 400-odd citizens arrested under the War Measures Act and later released without charge.

Also opening on Jan. 24 is "Poèmes et Chants de la Resistance — 2", a "spectacle" organized by Pauline Julien to protest the Trials. Most of the top artists of Quebec will be participating. Each will have prepared an original song, poem, or reading for the occasion. The tickets for the four-day affair have already been sold out. And for Feb. 1, the Montreal Central Council of the CNTU has called another demonstration to protest the frameup of its president, Michel Chartrand.

The developing anger against the trials and the growing sympathy for the prisoners, who are posing challenge after challenge to the courts, will be shown in the coming weeks of demonstrations and rallies. Student defense committees, now being organized in CEQEPs and universities as a result of a highly successful Jan. 16 day of discussion and planning workshops organized by the CQDL, will add new militancy and numbers to the defense effort.

In addition, the 300 or so participants in the colloque's workshops agreed to set up a documentation center in collaboration with the MDPPQ, to provide information on the political trials, and to circulate a petition against the repression and the Quebec government's threat to introduce compulsory identity cards. They also laid plans to begin publishing a weekly tabloid, La Presse Libre, which will "spread the truth on the political trials."

BOOK REVIEW

Radical books top the list in Quebec

MONTREAL — It is a measure of the radicalization here that the best-selling French books are about revolution or written by nationalists and radicals. Here are some that are of particular importance to English Canadians. They are not hard to read with a high-school command of French.

"The bourgeoisie. . .does no productive work," says **Le petit manuel d'histoire du Québec**. Its refreshing candor has kept it at the top of the bestseller list for 11 weeks. The manual has some interesting facts on the period up to Confederation, the Riel rebellion, and the exploitation of Quebec up to 1969.

It's a "quick history," a bit superficial; but for a buck, you can't miss, since it is the only pocket-sized Canadian history written by someone on our side of the class struggle.

The 29,000 copies are selling out fast and a fourth edition is now being prepared. **Le petit manuel d'histoire du Québec**, by Léandre Bergeron, 247 pp., $1.00.

Famille-sans-nom by Jules Verne (yes, Jules Verne actually wrote a book about Quebec!) is fascinating. It's about the 1837 uprising, portraying historical characters like Papineau, with descriptions and engraving so beautifully accurate that some of the places can still be recognized today. The battle of St-Denis-sur-Richelieu is so gripping that you forget it's only a novel until the typical Verne hero arrives on the scene. You have to read this if you want a feeling for the traditions, the hopes and the historic pride that lie behind the independentist movement today. **Famille-sans-nom** by Jules Verne, 420 pp., $3.50.

Last of all, **Kidnappé par la police**, the prison diary of one of the victims of the War Measures Act, is worth getting for $2.00. It's a very straightforward account of Dr. Serge Mongeau's eight-day imprisonment. Mongeau is a leader of the Movement for the Defense of Quebec Political Prisoners, whose declaration of aims is included in the book. **Kidnappé par la police**, by Serge Mongeau, 128 pp., $2.00.

All of these books can be ordered from the Librairie d'avant-garde, 226 est, rue Ste-Catherine, Montréal 129.

Penny Simpson

Back Quebec rights, Waffle tells NDP -- Self-determination is key

(From Labor Challenge, February 1971)

by Dick Fidler

The liberation struggle in Quebec will be a major question of debate at the up-coming NDP federal convention April 24-28.

The Trudeau government's current assault on the nationalist movement has laid bare as seldom before the class and national oppression underlying Canadian capitalist society. Parallel with this development, the NDP's principled opposition to the War Measures Act is widely acknowledged to have given it new prestige in Quebec, and reopened the question of the party's role in Quebec politics.

The debate takes on concrete form with two recent developments:

—the formation of the Quebec Movement for a New Alliance, a group of NDP members in Quebec who advocate virtual dissolution of the party on the Quebec level and a de facto alliance between the federal party and the Parti Québécois;

—publication of a resolution by the Waffle left wing of the NDP which will ask the April federal convention to support "the right of the people of Quebec to national self-determination up to and including the right to form an independent Quebec state."

The Waffle statement poses the major challenges before the NDP and answers them unequivocally. It calls on the party to struggle against the Public Order Act "and all similar substitute legislation", to "demand the immediate release of all persons arrested under such legislation," and to "begin an intensive educational program throughout English Canada to make known the national and class oppression that the Quebec people have experienced."

But its strongest feature is the central concept of Quebec's right to self-determination, which the Waffle statement correctly notes can only mean the right to an independent state. If adopted, this resolution would mark a radical departure from previous NDP policy.

In recent years, while the independence movement in Quebec has deepened and broadened, the party leadership has continued to treat the existing Canadian capitalist state as something sacrosanct, whose territorial integrity must be preserved at all costs.

Adoption of the Waffle resolution would be a powerful declaration by English Canada's labor movement, farm and student militants that they will not stand for further aggression by Ottawa against the Québécois nation, whose developing struggle for independence promises to shake the very foundations of capitalist rule in this country.

The NDP right wing has responded angrily to the Waffle proposal. Frank Howard, a candidate for the federal leadership, and one of four MPs who broke publicly with the party last October to vote support for Trudeau's War Measures Act, has denounced the Waffle and denied that the Québécois have a right to self-determination.

Two other right-wing leadership contenders, John Harney and David Lewis, the party's deputy leader, have tried to avoid discussing the issue. Somewhat more attuned than Howard to the thinking of party supporters in Quebec, but uneasy about the implications of supporting self-determination when the Québécois are so obviously orienting toward independence, Lewis and Harney have declared that the Québécois already have this right! But didn't Trudeau give them the lie — and rather convincingly — when he invoked the War Measures Act, throwing the naked power of the state against his nationalist opposition?

Quebec NDP leader Roland Morin has also tried to brush the question aside with the curious claim that only the Québécois should decide whether they have the right to self-determination. But the Québécois are deciding the question in real life, by moving toward independence. However, in English Canada, the oppressor nation, self-determination is a vitally important question.

Unfortunately, some leading partisans of Quebec self-determination in the NDP have handed a weapon to their right-wing opponents, by proposing at the same time an alliance between the NDP and the bourgeois Parti Québécois.

That is the essential thrust of the proposals of the Quebec Movement for a New Alliance. Composed mainly, if not entirely, of Quebec Waffle supporters, this group will propose to both the Quebec NDP convention Feb. 19-20 and the April federal convention that the NDP abandon any presence on the Quebec scene, and that it run candidates in Quebec only in those federal ridings which it can win — presumably, the English ridings in west-end Montreal. Just so no one will mistakenly think they want an independent Quebec left-wing formation, they explicitly renounce the Parti Socialiste du Québec, a still-born attempt during the 1960s to form an autonomous Quebec labor party.

At the "New Alliance" group's founding press conference, spokesman Laurier La Pierre, a former NDP federal vice-president, spelled out more fully the group's proposal that the NDP study "an alliance with the PQ" in Quebec. The presence of the NDP on the provincial plane, he said, would only "mix up the cards" at a time when the Québécois were presented with two clear options: the "mitigated" federalism of the Liberal party and the independence advocated by the PQ.

"The only organism which can validly negotiate a 'new alliance' (with English Canada) in Quebec's name, states their document, must be the political instrument the Quebec nation gives itself. The future will tell whether the PQ will assert itself as this political instrument as it would seem to be at present."

Waffle leader Jim Laxer, the left candidate for the NDP federal leadership has echoed the 'new alliance' group's proposals in recent statements. He told Montreal newspapers that Waffle supporters will ask that members of the PQ be seated at the April convention as official delegates. This, he said, would illustrate "the real situation of social democracy in Canada, represented by the NDP in English Canada and the PQ in Quebec."

The anomaly of the anti-U.S. imperialist Waffle supporting the pro-U.S. capital Parti Québécois has not been lost on astute right-wingers like David Lewis. Nor, indeed, do the Quebec Wafflers refrain from expressing some uneasiness about their position. The declaration of the "New Alliance" group shamefacedly notes that the PQ is by no stretch of the imagination "socialist."

The whole thing smells very much like the capitulation of many leading trade union militants to the PQ euphoria in last April's election. But this time prominent Waffle supporters have joined in. The PQ is popular; we support self-determination; therefore. . . so goes their argument.

(Only ten years ago, a similar method of argument could have been employed to show that since the Tory party — or the Liberals — were obviously favored by working class voters, it was useless trying to build an independent alternative. The New Democratic Party was built in hard-fought opposition to that viewpoint in the labor bureaucracy.)

Waffle supporters must repudiate any suggestion that the NDP support or align itself with the PQ. The widespread sympathy in Quebec for the Parti Québécois indicates the growing support for independentism. And there is undoubtedly much sympathy in PQ ranks for the NDP, the only party at the federal level to show any appreciable support for the Québécois cause.

But political alliances are determined in the first place by class lines, not popularity ratings. Politicized workers supported the PQ, a bourgeois party, because there is no mass party of the working class which supports independentism — and, precisely because of its independentism, they do not see the PQ as a bourgeois party like the others. But for self-determination to be linked to the developing class struggle in Quebec, the Québécois workers must have a political instrument which can determine in their own class interests their political future.

Because the national oppression of Quebec workers has imparted a unique dynamic and special tasks to their struggle, the New Democratic Party is not that party. But much less so is the PQ, a party which warmly welcomes foreign capital into Quebec, and whose leadership and internal structures are modeled after the Liberal party and other traditional capitalist formations. Despite its independentism, the PQ is thoroughly committed to the capitalist road. It is a detour for the Quebec workers and all who seek a Quebec independent of imperialism.

A qualitatively different path of development for the Quebec working class was indicated last year in the formation of the Front d'Action Politique, the trade union-based

political party which contested the Montreal municipal election. As a working class nationalist formation, FRAP posed a serious threat to the ruling class's monopoly on Quebec politics. It was a first target, and victim, of the War Measures Act.

Rather than greasing the PQ's skids, supporters of self-determination and socialism in Quebec must point the way toward independent working class politics — the only basis for a meaningful powerful alliance between the Quebec independence struggle and the English Canadian left.

If the NDP has not rooted itself on the Quebec level, it nonetheless remains only alternative to the capitalist parties in Ottawa. By adopting the Waffle resolution on self-determination for Quebec, the NDP can sustain that concept of an alternative class force in Quebec, and thereby make some gains toward the mass workers party that must be built.

=====start BOX =======

Photo caption: **FREE CHARTRAND! shouted more than 600 demonstrators who paraded for two hours in sub-zero weather outside Parthenais prison in Montreal on the day the sedition trial opened. The demonstration was called by Montreal council of the Confederation of National Trade Unions, in support of its president, Michel Chartrand. The Quebec left is rebuilding in the wake of the October events, around united defense actions like this, not around the bourgeois Parti Québécois.**

=======END BOX ========

Free abortion on demand, now!

See page 8

labor Challenge

Vol. 2, No. 3 (25) February 15, 1971 15 cents

NDP left runs for leadership

page 3

U.S. out of Laos, Cambodia, Vietnam! Build protests for withdrawal now

FEBRUARY 9 — "The U.S. invasion of Laos constitutes a qualitative escalation of the war in Indochina," George Addison, executive secretary of the Vietnam Mobilization Committee, said today. "We call on every antiwar group across Canada to take appropriate action to protest the widening war in South-east Asia."

"Thousands of Saigon regime troops, under U.S. air cover, have crossed the border into Laos to attack supposed enemy supply lines," the statement continues.

"Similar operations of Saigon troops and U.S. air bombardment have been taking place in Cambodia for months.

"A new offensive by U.S. troops in the northern section of South Vietnam has been underway for weeks. This operation includes the forced relocation of hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese to the south, leaving the area barren for saturation bombing, an attack on North Vietnam, or nuclear attacks.

"The promises of withdrawal by U.S. forces are now clearly shown to be a fraud. The U.S. does not intend to withdraw until all resistance is crushed, or Indochina turned into a wasteland.

"External Affairs Minister Sharp's statement yesterday that he 'appreciates the motives of the U.S. in Laos' is blatant proof of Canada's complicity in the Southeast Asian war," said VMC executive secretary George Addison.

"As for Sharp's solution — reconstitution of the International Control Commission — the cure is as bad as the sickness," said Addison. "NDP MP Andrew Brewin was right to reply by demanding Canada's withdrawal from this discredited tool of the oppressors of Indochina.

"The VMC views these actions against the Laos invasion as part of the renewed campaign now being launched against the U.S. war in Southeast Asia, which will culminate in worldwide demonstrations on April 24."

Even before the invasion was officially announced, several effective protests had been organized.

Over 100 people participated in a protest called hurriedly by the Vancouver Vietnam Action Committee Feb. 4.

Participation in the demonstration indicated a reentry of forces which had earlier abandoned the antiwar movement. Individuals from both the Communist Party-backed conservative wing and the now defunct ultra-left confrontationist wing of the movement participated in the VAC action. The demonstration was also attended by many who had never participated in an antiwar action before.

Vietnam Action Committee executive member Martin Thompson called on the demonstrators to help build the VAC, to help plan for a massive mobilization on April 24, set by the National Peace Action Coalition in the U.S. as an International Day of Mass Antiwar Action. Banners and signs read "Hands off Laos," "Withdraw All U.S. Troops from Indo-China Now" and "End Canada's Complicity."

In Toronto on Feb. 3, 60 picketed the U.S. consulate in an action called by the Vietnam Mobilization Committee. NDP candidate Dan Heap, addressing the protesters, drew the parallel between the U.S. war against the popular liberation struggle in Southeast Asia and Trudeau's "war measures" against Quebec.

Vietnamese Appeal

Vietnam Mobilization Committee, Toronto:

Laos invasion by tens of thousands of U.S., Saigon and Thai troops. Possibility U.S. using tactical nuclear warfare. Urgently mobilize peace forces in your area to prevent U.S. military ventures in Indochina.

Paris Delegation Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam

Rose, Montreal Five expose gov't frameup

By Robert Dumont

Paul Rose has won his point.

For two weeks now, Rose, accused of the kidnap-murder of Quebec Labor Minister Pierre Laporte, has tied up his trial with one motion after another seeking to demonstrate that he cannot get a fair trial because he has already been tried and found guilty by the mass media.

Acting as his own lawyer (he was denied permission to retain Robert Lemieux, the defense lawyer accused of seditious conspiracy), Rose has challenged prospective jurors on their prejudices against the Quebec independentist movement — challenged the Quebec Jury Act itself as undemocratic because it excludes women from jury duty.

He has exposed the phony "confession" of his co-defendant Francis Simard, manufactured by police and illegally broadcast in the media before his trial. And he has used his court appearances to denounce at every opportunity the oppression of the Quebecois workers.

On Feb. 8, Mr. Justice Nichols guaranteed, for anyone who doubted, that Paul Rose cannot get a fair trial. The

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photo by White

SOLIDARITY WITH POLITICAL PRISONERS. 300 marched through Toronto streets following rally in support of Quebecois accused of seditious conspiracy and support of FLQ. In foreground at right are speakers Michel Bourdon, vice-president of CNTU's Montreal council, and Pierre Bourgault of Parti Quebecois, flanked by Paul Callaghan and Dave Holdsworth of sponsoring ECDPRQ. Featured speaker at Feb. 7 rally was Simone Chartrand, wife of jailed labor leader Michel Chartrand. Story page 3.

Que. trials exposed

labor Challenge

#25

Continued from page 1

judge made Canadian legal history by banning Rose from the court for the duration of his trial. And he confirmed the political nature of his ruling by citing as proof of Rose's "disruptions" the prisoner's references to the court as a "colonial court," a "front for the establishment" maintained by money and force of arms.

Deprived of a lawyer, Rose had told the court earlier: "This trial is a farce, and I can only play the role of an actor." Today, Rose is confined in the wings, while his antagonists villify him with soliloquies.

What is behind all the talk about "disruption" in the trials of Rose and the Montreal Five, the latter accused of seditious conspiracy?

The charges are "criminal" — that is, in the Canadian criminal code — and the authorities are doing all they can to treat the defendents, who include such figures as Montreal labor leader Michel Chartrand, defense lawyer Robert Lemieux, writer Pierre Vallières, as little more than common criminals.

But they are not criminals. They are political prisoners. And these are political trials. With the prisoners' courtroom ordeal barely underway, the unreal veil of "impartiality" that normally masks legal proceedings in this country is falling away to reveal the sordid political motives of the government leaders in Ottawa and Quebec City who have used their "public order act" to frame these spokesmen of the Quebec nationalist movement.

The bourgeois legal system itself is coming in for some hard knocks. Who are these "impartial" judges, servants of Her Majesty? On Feb. 1, when the seditious conspiracy trial began, Michel Chartrand argued that Mr. Justice Ouimet should withdraw from the case. Three weeks earlier Ouimet had sentenced Chartrand to a year in prison for contempt of court, when the labor leader complained the judge was "partial" and "fanatical."

Chartrand noted that last year the same judge sentenced Vallières to seven months for contempt, that he had "showed partiality" toward Jacques Larue-Langlois, "uttered defamatory libel" against Vallieres, and refused Lemieux permission to plead before him on behalf of his co-defendants. "Only (Charles) Gagnon has so far escaped your perspicacious and penetrating view," Chartrand sarcastically remarked.

Certainly the judge's political antecedents alone should suffice for a mistrial. Son-in-law of the late Justice Minister Ernest Lapointe, he was president of a Liberal constituency association for many years, and mayor of Drummondville West from 1960 to 1966. He is noted for speeches to service clubs attributing terrorism to a young generation which ridicules morality, law and order and reads "agnostic" authors like Jean-Paul Sartre, Albert Camus and Simone de Beauvoir.

When Ouimet refused to step down as presiding judge, the five defendants moved to quash proceedings. Pierre Vallieres said the crime of sedition was invented by the Star Chamber in the 17th century to help the King of England get rid of his political enemies.

"The charge is used today against labor unions and any group that opposes the people in power," Vallières declared. "We are not interested in being the goat at a circus to help Trudeau and Bourassa justify the use of the War Measures Act."

The judge objected to the defendants citing government leaders.

"Who filed these charges, if it was not Choquette?" Vallieres asked, referring to the Quebec justice minister.

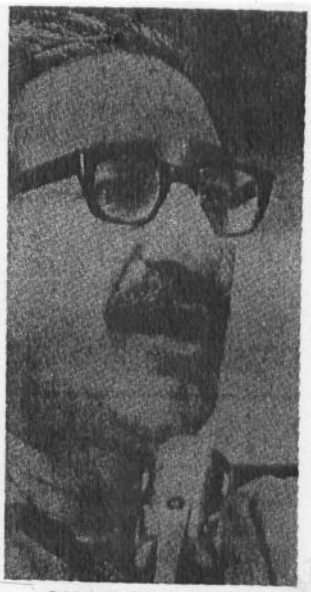
Mr. Justice Ouimet's reply that "it was the Queen who filed the charges" brought roars of laughter from the crowded spectators' benches.

So far, the main trials have not got beyond the initial procedural stage. Once the juries are sworn, and witnesses called, it will become even more obvious how completely devoid the prosecution is of any evidence to back the charges. A few days before Chartrand's trial began, a dozen detectives raided his union office, looking for "evidence" of Chartrand's seditious intent — three months after his arrest!

The Quebec trials are being closely followed abroad. Nicole Dreyfus of Paris, representing the International Association of Democratic Jurists, was invited to observe the trials by Quebec trade unions and civil liberties groups.

She is "astonished", she told a Montreal press conference, by the ease with which contempt of court convictions are handed down in Canadian courts, and the "extremely heavy sentence" inflicted on Chartrand. Dreyfus deplored two aspects in particular of the Public Order Act, the presumption of guilt and its retroactive character.

Dreyfus said there was no doubt these were "political trials."



CHARTRAND

It is because the prisoners are being tried for their political ideas that normal courtroom procedures are breaking down. How can the decorum of the tribunal be maintained when it is so obvious that this macabre farce is little more than a shabby attempt by the Liberal governments at Ottawa and Quebec City to prop up their myth of an "apprehended insurrection"?

As Pierre Vallières told the judge Feb. 1: "I've more the impression of appearing before the Liberal party, which moreover is no stranger to the Crown prosecutors, than before a court."

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Toronto protest sets pace in Quebec defense

by Dick Fidler

TORONTO — "What the war in Vietnam has been to the United States, the Quebec problem will be in Canada," a Montreal trade union leader told an enthusiastic rally of 300 here Feb. 7. "We are your Vietnamese, and to keep us within Canada, the Establishment will have to do with us what they are doing to the Vietnamese."

Michel Bourdon, vice-president of the Montreal central council of the Confederation of National Trade Unions, was a guest speaker at the combined rally and march in support of Quebec political prisoners. The action was sponsored by the Emergency Committee for the Defense of Political Rights in Quebec, which sponsored a similar rally three weeks earlier with Jacques Larue-Langlois, a leading defendant in the Montreal trials.

Featured speaker was Simone Chartrand, a prominent Quebec woman activist and wife of Michel Chartrand, jailed trade union leader and one of the Montreal Five now being tried on charges of seditious conspiracy and membership in the outlawed FLQ.

Chartrand deplored the distortions and hyperbole about the trials appearing in the daily press. Because they had no evidence to back their lies that the accused advocated violence, she said, the press was obliged to concentrate on irrelevant details, for example, describing her husband as "sporting a flaming red shirt."

"Is it terrorist to fight for the independence of your country?" she asked. "We will continue fighting, whatever the outcome of these trials."

Another speaker, Pierre Bourgault, former leader of the independentist RIN and a Parti Québécois candidate in last year's elections, expressed gratitude for the developing interest and support among English Candian radicals for the Quebec independence struggle. "In ten years of speaking about Quebec in English Canada," he said, "this is the first time I have spoken to people who support our fight."

Both Bourgault and Chartrand reminded their audience of the importance of defending all victims of Trudeau's War Measures Act and its successor legislation. Paul Rose and others accused of killing Pierre Laporte are also facing charges under the Public Order Act, Bourgault said. "I hate the liberal attitude that would separate some of the defendants from the others. We're responsible to all those in jail today."

Following the rally, the audience streamed out of the hall and marched along Bloor and Yonge Streets to Queen's Park, chanting slogans like "Québec Libre" and "Free Chartrand, Free Them All." Dr. Gus Tolentino, chairman of the meeting and rally, announced that the ECDPRQ plans to demonstrate against the Quebec repression when Trudeau appears at a Liberal party fund-raising dinner here on March 3.

Saskatoon

The Saskatoon Committee for the Defense of Democratic Rights has undertaken a wide campaign in defense of the Quebec political prisoners and for the repeal of the Public Order Act. Centered on the University of Saskatchewan campus, the committee has organized a number of public meetings and demonstrations in the past months. Its pamphlet, Restore Democratic Rights, gives background information on the Quebec situation.

The committee has carried out a petition campaign for a general meeting of the U of S Student Union Feb. 9, "for the purpose of discussion the Union's actions concerning the present situation in Quebec."

Hamilton

On Feb. 1 the Hamilton Committee to Defend Civil Liberties held a successful demonstration in solidarity with the Montreal Five, whose trials opened in Montreal on that day. Twenty-five persons turned out in zero degree weather. Dr. Knight of the Romance Languages Dept. at McMaster University and speakers from the League for Socialist Action and the Hamilton People (a community newspaper) addressed the protesters.

On Jan. 17 the committee organized a public meeting of 100 to hear Jacques Larue-Langlois, one of the Five now on trial for seditious conspiracy.

Vancouver

In Vancouver a Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners in Quebec has been formed, headed by Hilda Thomas. The committee is planning broad solidarity actions for the release of the prisoners.

The defense committees in these cities can be contacted at the following addresses:

Hamilton: CDCL, 16 Barclay St., 527-1492.

Saskatoon: Committee for the Defense of Democratic Rights, University of Saskatchewan.

Toronto: ECDPRQ, 87 Mayfair, 763-6989.

Vancouver: CDPPQ, care of Hilda Thomas, 4158-W 10th.

Plan public inquiry to probe Trudeau's 'War Measures'

At the first public activity of the Kitchener-Waterloo Committee for a Commission of Inquiry into the War Measures Act Feb. 5, over 100 persons heard a TV panel discussing the "Plot that Never Was." Panelists included Leo Johnson, Professor of History, Rod Preece, professor of political science and host Bill Moyer local author and radio personality. Two of the scheduled panelists were unable to attend. Both NDP MP Andrew Brewin, and Tory MP David Macdonald were snowed in at Ottawa Airport. Both MPs have been vigorously outspoken against the federal government's invocation of the War Measure Act and have expressed interest in the launching of a commission of inquiry.

Following the discussion, which was televised for university audiences, over thirty people indicated they wished to play a role in building the committee.

The committee has therefore projected the need for an independent inquiry, conducted by a body of citizens prepared to investigate every side and hear every point of view on the Quebec crisis.

The organizers of the committee point out that the government has ignored an appeal issued Dec. 10 by the Canadian Civil Liberties Association calling for a Royal Commission to investigate the reasons for the Quebec crisis and the government's response. Appeals for establishment of a court of appeal for those unjustly harmed by the War Measures Act have been similarly rejected.

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Self-determination is key

Back Quebec rights, Waffle tells NDP

by Dick Fidler

The liberation struggle in Quebec will be a major question of debate at the upcoming NDP federal convention Apr. 24-28.

The Trudeau goverment's current assault on the nationalist movement has laid bare as seldom before the class and national oppression underlying Canadian capitalist society. Parallel with this development, the NDP's principled opposition to the War Measures Act is widely acknowledged to have given it new prestige in Quebec, and reopened the question of the party's role in Quebec politics.

The debate takes on concrete form with two recent developments:

—the formation of the Quebec Movement for a New Alliance, a group of NDP members in Quebec who advocate virtual dissolution of the party on the Quebec level and a de facto alliance between the federal party and the Parti Quebecois;

—publication of a resolution by the Waffle left wing of the NDP which will ask the April federal convention to support "the right of the people of Quebec to national self-determination up to and including the right to form an independent Quebec state."

The Waffle statement poses the major challenges before the NDP and answers them unequivocally. It calls on the party to struggle against the Public Order Act "and all similar substitute legislation", to "demand the immediate release of all persons arrested under such legislation," and to "begin an intensive educational program throughout English Canada to make known the national and class oppression that the Quebec people have experienced."

But its strongest feature is the central concept of Quebec's right to self-determination, which the Waffle statement correctly notes can only mean the right to an independent state. If adopted, this resolution would mark a radical departure from previous NDP policy.

In recent years, while the independence movement in Quebec has deepened and broadened, the party leadership has continued to treat the existing Canadian capitalist state as something sacrosanct, whose territorial integrity must be preserved at all costs.

Adoption of the Waffle resolution would be a powerful declaration by English Canada's labor movement, farm and student militants that they will not stand for further aggression by Ottawa against the Québécois nation, whose developing struggle for independence promises to shake the very foundations of capitalist rule in this country.

The NDP right wing has responded angrily to the Waffle proposal. Frank Howard, a candidate for the federal leadership, and one of four MPs who broke publicly with the party last October to vote support for Trudeau's War Measures Act, has denounced the Waffle and denied that the Québécois have a right to self-determination.

Two other right-wing leadership contenders, John Harney and David Lewis, the party's deputy leader, have tried to avoid discussing the issue. Somewhat more attuned than Howard to the thinking of party supporters in Quebec, but uneasy about the implications of supporting self-determination when the Québécois are so obviously orienting toward independence, Lewis and Harney have declared that the Québecois already have this right! But didn't Trudeau give them the lie — and rather convincingly — when he invoked the War Measures Act, throwing the naked power of the state against his nationalist opposition?

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RENE LEVESQUE. Ally for socialists?

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A qualitatively different path of development for the Quebec working class was indicated last year in the formation of the Front d'Action Politique, the trade union-based political party which contested the Montreal municipal election. As a working class nationalist formation, FRAP posed a serious threat to the ruling class's monopoly on Quebec politics; it was a first target, and victim, of the War Measures Act.

Rather than greasing the PQ's skids, supporters of self-determination and socialism in Quebec must point the way toward independent working class politics — the only basis for a meaningful, powerful alliance between the Quebec independence struggle and the English-Canadian left.

If the NDP has not rooted itself on the Quebec level, it nonetheless remains the only alternative to the capitalist parties at Ottawa. By adopting the Waffle resolution on self-determination for Quebec, the NDP can sustain that concept of an alternative class force in Quebec, and thereby make some gains toward the mass workers party that must be built.

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labor Challenge #25 Feb 1971

Abortion action shows road forward

by Lis Angus

February 13 marks a great achievement for Canadian women. When women march on Ottawa Feb. 13, it will mark the high point of the cross-country abortion campaign — the campaign which has focussed the anger and frustration of countless women demanding control of their bodies and their lives, and directed this anger to confront the real enemies of Canadian women, the Canadian government.

What an inspiring campaign it has been! When it was first projected, nobody dared speculate on how it would mushroom. Yet in the course of the last couple of months, we have seen groups and individuals right across the country pull in behind the campaign, taking it into the communities, the schools and universities of Canada.

Enthusiastic meetings have been held in student nurses' lounges. Participants in the Poor People's Conference in Toronto responded to the campaign with offers to help. High school women are leafletting, holding meetings in their schools — in Toronto, they picketed the Board of Education demanding that birth control devices be made available in the schools.

"Abortion Days" have been held on several campuses, gaining wide support for the campaign through panel discussions, films, etc. At the University of Toronto, women presented a brief demanding that the university provide a free abortion clinic on campus, and stating that the university must take the lead in pressuring the federal government to repeal all abortion laws.

The campaign is bringing together women with varying interests — students, working women, housewives, unemployed women, young women, old women — all working together in common cause.

Groups are building the campaign from Victoria B.C. to St. John's, Newfoundland. New women's liberation groups have sprung up across Ontario and the Maritimes out of the impetus of the campaign. Coalitions have been established to build the campaign — for example, in Toronto the Abortion Campaign Committee combines the forces of all the women's liberation groups in the city, as well as several other organizations.

Right across the country, we've kept in touch with each other, worked together, helped each other out, and developed a new feeling of the unity and strength of the movement.

Inspiring as these developments are, they are only a beginning. The successes of the campaign point the way for the future of the women's liberation movement.

Women are moving. We are no longer just talking about our oppression; we are acting against those who sustain our oppression. And we are acting as a united force. This is how the movement will be built — by opening it up, reaching out to all women who agree with the basic demands of the movement, and actively involving them in united campaigns and actions to achieve these demands.

As the women's liberation movement moves ahead, the campaign for free abortion on demand will continue to be a central part of its actions. We're part way to victory now — we have to carry this struggle through to win a decisive battle for women.

photo by Belfont

SISTERHOOD IS POWERFUL! New York demonstration of 30,000 Aug. 26, 1970 showed power of mass action for women's liberation.

We know from this campaign that the abortion issue plays a key role in introducing thousands of women to the dynamism of women's liberation. For many women who are just beginning to question their role in society, the idea of free abortion on demand gives an illuminating insight into the concept of the right of women to control their lives. The enthusiasm with which women are rallying behind this demand is an indication of the base the women's liberation movement can develop.

We want to win the victory of free abortion on demand. We want women to be freed from the irrationalities of unplanned pregnancy and all the oppressions which are rationalized on the basis that a woman may become pregnant at any time — poor training, poor jobs, infrequent promotions, job insecurity, etc.

A victory in this struggle will give incalculable impetus to all the other struggles we carry — it will free women to participate in these struggles, and most importantly, it will show women how powerful they are when they unite in common action.

The struggle for free abortion on demand must continue to be spearheaded by the women's liberation movement, leading and giving direction to all the other forces which are coming in behind this campaign. Public support for the demand is mounting. 44% of Canadians now favor free abortion on demand, and this change in public opinion is reflected in the recent stand in favor of liberalized abortion taken by the United Church, the Canadian Medical Association, and the Canadian Psychiatric Association. Hundreds of people attended a recent meeting of the Association to Repeal Canada's Abortion Laws in Toronto. As much as we welcome this support, and as essential as these forces are to the continuing campaign, they cannot alone win the struggle.

We in the women's liberation movement came to "free abortion on demand" from the understanding that women must control their lives. We know that the government — which has a big stake in keeping women in their place through the rationalization of unplanned pregnancy — is against this demand and will do all it can to divert it.

We know that even if the government is forced by popular pressure to change the abortion laws, this is only the beginning. We must fight for the facilities, the medical personnel, the information services, which will make free abortion on demand a reality, and without which a change in the laws is a hollow victory.

There is only one way to win this demand — the same way all the other demands of the movement will be won — through the united action of large numbers of people. We know that it will be a long hard fight, and that it is the women of this country who must lead it.

We, who are building a movement which gives expression to the anger and despair, the desires and dreams of all women, know that we can gather the forces to wrest control of our lives from all who control us. We know how basic this struggle is. The responsibility for seeing it through is ours. And we will proudly carry that responsibility through to victory.

labor Challenge #25 Feb 1971

A woman's rights come first 'defenders of unborn' told

by Gary Porter

VANCOUVER — "After eating a fried egg do you comment on how good the chicken tasted? When you see a squirrel with an acorn in its mouth do you wonder at how such a tiny animal can carry an oak tree?

"No! An egg is not a chicken. An acorn is not an oak tree. And a fetus is not a human being — but a woman is."

"Life is a question of probabilities and potentialities for the fetus. But a woman's life is real and actual."

Mary Trew of the Women's Liberation Alliance was replying to the "abortion-is-murder" arguments of Dr. John Connolly and Bernice Gerrard, speaking for a group calling itself the Voice of the Unborn.

Over 400 attended the heated debate on the right of women to abortion at Vancouver City College Feb. 1. The debate was organized by the Women's Liberation Alliance, as part of the cross-Canada abortion campaign.

Connolly argued that a mere 338 women were listed as having died from the effects of illegal hack abortions in Canada over 14 years.

Dr. Gregory Makaroff, arguing with Trew for the right to free abortion on demand, described this attitude as "chilling" and called for abortion to be removed from the realm of criminal law.

Makaroff, recently fined and given a three-month suspended sentence for performing abortions, has now been suspended from the B.C. College of Physicians and Surgeons.

She blasted the illusion that anti-abortionists care about children. "These people don't give a damn what happens to children after they are born," she said.

"They don't care if a child is hungry or cold or poor or uneducated. No, it is we, the women, who must look after the children. Their only concern is to make damn sure that we are forced to bear them."

The Alliance chairwoman, Margaret Henderson, announced plans for a lobby in Victoria and a mass demonstration in Vancouver on Feb. 13 for free abortions on demand, part of the Canada-wide actions on that day.

How York socialist campaign shook up student election

One achievement of the Young Socialists campaign for York University's student council will be long remembered — it forced Robert Stanfield to declare his support for the Trudeau government's policy towards Quebec.

It was under the quizzing of Don Tapscott, campaign manager for the four socialist candidates in the Dec. 2 election, that Tory federal leader Standfield angrily declared his support of Trudeau's "war measures" against Quebec.

But this was only one incident in a campaign whose dynamism and impact was unparalleled in previous Toronto student politics.

And when the votes were counted, Brian Belfont and Terry Fobert, YS candidates for the council presidency and vice-presidency, had polled 30 and 25 percent of the votes. One of their running mates for council seats, Tony Di Felice, was acclaimed, while the other missed election by only three votes.

The socialist candidates caused no little stir with their accusation that the administration was planning increases in tuition and residence fees, combined with cutbacks in graduate school grants and enrollments. Curiosity turned to indignation when administration sources proceeded to verify each of their charges.

Belfont denounced plans to assist government austerity measures by cutting back enrollment openings. He demanded the university abolish tuition fees and massively expand its facilities and its enrollment, providing thousands of jobs for unemployed, including many jobless graduates qualified as teachers, while opening its doors to thousands of high school graduates now unable either to find work or attend university.

"With only 10 percent bothering to vote," Belfont commented, "the election can only be regarded as a massive repudiation of the do-nothing policies of CYSF, the student council.

"The election showed the massive and increasing support for the demands raised by the Young Socialists; now the task is to organize actions to achieve them."

photo by White

FOR STUDENT-FACULTY CONTROL OF UNIVERSITY. Students hold mass rally in University of Toronto Arts building. Urging that militants carry protest into other sectors of campus, mobilizing toward strike to back demands for parity, is Katie Curtin (lower left) of Young Socialists.

Students fight for parity on ruling body

by Alice Klein

The Canadian student movement, which many commentators have pronounced "dead", showed a great deal of life in January. Students at the University of Victoria launched a major protest against the denial of tenure to progressive professors, while law students at the University of Saskatoon went on strike to protest a system of exams which led to a class average below the failure level.

But the biggest shock came at the University of Toronto. Students in the largest faculty — the Faculty of Arts and Sciences — began the struggle to control the institution which most affects them. They demanded parity — equal representation with the faculty on the governing body, the Faculty Council, which determines such crucial questions in a student's life as course content, hiring and firing, and examinations.

The simmering began last November when a referendum was held in which 88.5 percent of the students voted in support of parity. The scope of support for this issue on campus indicated the transformation taking place in the consciousness of the student body, a signal both of the deepening alienation from a society which offers them no future and a response to the impact of self-determination struggles around the world.

On Jan. 20 the struggle began. A small group of senior faculty, dedicated to preventing the democratization of the university, organized against equal student representation. By a vote of 285-192 Faculty Council rejected the parity proposal and, along with it, the wishes of thousands of students.

The response was immediate. The 64 student members of the council resigned in protest, an action later endorsed by broad sectors of the university community. Students took over the foyer and two lounges in the main Arts Building as an organizing center. Mass meetings of up to 800 students were held. A motion of censure was passed, the council was declared illegitimate, and a referendum calling for a general strike of Arts and Sciences students was held.

The referendum saw the largest turnout in the history of the university — over 8,000 students. The result was a virtual tie vote, but the fact that 4,000 students voted to support a strike to back up their demand for parity was a very important development for the student movement on "apathetic" U of T.

But the inconclusive results of the referendum caused a real confusion on the campus.

The dominant force in the leadership of the protest, made up of student council members, some New Leftists, many never before involved in radical action, did not mobilize those who had expressed their support for the strike action.

The Young Socialists issue leaflets and participated in the Strike Committee urging the organization of picket squads to draw more students in and to explain the issues.

The student left, not having the experience of many such struggles, was unable to carry through with the organization of the struggle, and the strike was limited to a small number of students.

The crucial debate of the struggle was whether to focus the demand for parity on the administration or simply to create such a disturbance of the functioning of the university that "someone would have to respond." The YS argued strongly that the struggle, in order to win, must focus its demands on those who hold the power in the university, the president and the Board of Governors. The rejection of this proposal was an important factor in the dissipation of the strike.

But the struggle is continuing. A mass meeting elected a committee of five students and five sympathetic faculty to draft a concrete proposal for restructuring the faculty's government on parity lines, and declared that this was the only body recognized by the students. At present the parity committee is meeting and will present its proposals to the student body.

The concrete gains of this struggle are as yet unknown. But large numbers of students were involved in discussing the issue and in learning the lessons of how to conduct the struggle. The movement's impact on the developing student radicalization will be considerable.

labor Challenge #25 Feb. 1971

DEFEND THE ALESTINIAN REVOLUTION

DEFENDS PALESTINE. Peter Buch speaks to Toronto Vanguard Forum. With him on platform are Ellie Kirzner of Young Socialists, Khalid Mohamer of Arab-Palestinian Orgnization, Yakub Zaida of Arab Students Association, and William Fohel of Arab Association of Toronto.

Mideast focus of controversy at York University teach-in

"You demand that the Palestinians give guarantees that they won't harm the Jews in their struggle to regain their land — do you demand that the Vietnamese not hurt the Americans who presently oppress them? The guy being stepped on by the bully never has to say, 'I'll be nice to you when I get up'."

This is how Peter Buch answered charges leveled against the Palestinian revolutionaries, speaking at an International Teach-in on the Mideast, "Zionism and the Arab Revolution," held at Toronto's York University Jan. 29. Other speakers were Seymour Melman, professor at Columbia University and author of *Our Depleted Society*, George Haggar, president of the Canadian Arab Federation, and Maan Zaida, an Arab supporter of the Democratic Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine.

The teach in presented the non-Zionist point of view and was sponsored by eleven prominent academics at York. Though campaigned against and boycotted by the strong pro-Zionist forces on campus, who had been invited to participate in a panel, the teach-in was attended by 75 people.

A former Zionist, his family victims of Nazism, Buch is now a member of the Socialist Workers Party of the USA. He is presently on a North American speaking tour.

He spoke that evening at a rally in defense of the Palestinian revolution together with representatives of the Arab Palestine Association, the Arab Student Association and the Arab Association of Toronto, sponsored by the Vanguard Forum. All speakers expressed the urgency of building the defense of the Palestinians.

Man. Waffle defaults on drive to nationalize CFI

Winnipeg

The articles on the takeover in the form of receivership of the Churchill Forest Industries complex appearing in the Jan. 16 and Feb. 1 issues of Labor Challenge pointed to the two main challenges facing the NDP government: (1) to carry the action further and nationalize the complex, and (2) to set up a commission composed of the representatives of workers, Metis and Indians with the power to open the books of the companies and government agencies concerned with the sellout.

In this context the announcement reported in Labor Challenge that the Waffle has "launched a major campaign to get the Schreyer government to nationalize CFI" indicated that Waffle was going to correctly challenge Schreyer.

Unfortunately this is only what Waffle said. In reality it is doing nothing.

Since that announcement the CFI has scarcely been mentioned by Waffle spokesmen. No campaign has been launched, nor is any being planned.

Dennis Lomas

labor Challenge

#25

Editor: JOHN RIDDELL

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mailbag

Native protests

Edmonton

I was impressed by your paper's article, some months ago, on an Indian Program for Sovereignty.

One comment, however, is that Labor Challenge seems to deal basically with the programmatic aspects of the Native struggle. I agree this is necessary, but I feel that there is also a need for current news articles which would reflect what is taking place in different provinces across Canada.

I would encourage all those who are interested in Labor Challenge, and want to see more articles concerning the Native struggle appear on a regular basis, to send in articles or clippings from their local papers.

Alden Saywer

Protests hit threatened expulsions

by Karen Kopperud

SASKATOON — An attempt to exclude five Young Socialists and leading NDP activists from the Saskatchewan NDP continues to meet with widespread protests from across the country.

Recent expressions of opposition to the exclusionary move have come in from fifteen members of the New Brunswick NDP, including the provincial president and secretary. Nova Scotia MLA Paul MacEwan has written a letter of protest to the Saskatchewan provincial secretary.

In Saskatchewan, dozens of constituency executive members, two candidates and a Saskatoon alderman are among those who have signed a petition protesting the witch-hunt. Six leading members of the Alberta NDP have also made known their opposition.

On Jan. 13 the forty people attending a meeting of the Saskatoon Waffle group passed a motion with only one dissenting vote to oppose the expulsion of the Young Socialists from the party. The same meeting reelected YSer Karen Kopperud to the provincial Waffle steering committee.

Despite this obvious concern in the membership for party democracy, however, the right-wing dominated provincial NDP council, which set up a committee last November to investigate the Young Socialists, has yet to lay off the issue.

Frank Coburn chairman of the council's committee investigating the charges, is said to have recommended no action be taken. But the council meeting of Jan. 24 endorsed an executive motion to refer the matter back to the committee on the grounds that the provincial president, Gordon McMurchy, has not been present during the committee's final deliberations.

Excellent Possibilities for Socialist Unification

Canada's Interest in a United States of Europe

By Ross Dowson

(*The following speech was given by Ross Dowson, executive secretary of the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, the Canadian Trotskyist organization, to a seminar at Brandon University in Brandon, Manitoba, held January 29-30, 1971. The subject of the seminar was 'The Implications and Possibilities of an Economically and Politically United Europe." Other speakers were J. R. Roy,head of the commercial policy division of the Department of External Affairs of the Ottawa government; and Bruce Howard, M.P., parliamentary secretary to the minister of industry, trade and commerce. We have taken the text of Dowson's remarks from the February 15, 1971 issue of the Toronto socialist weekly* Labor Challenge.*}*

To the question, "What are the possibilities of an economically and politically united Europe?" I would answer, "They are excellent." In fact, I would say that an economically and politically united Europe is an historical inevitability.

At the same time I would hasten, to add that this unity will not take place and cannot take place on the basis of some kind of integration of the present capitalist states, through a process of developing experiments such as the European Coal and Steel Community, Euratom, or the European Economic Community—the Common Market. It will take place only with the overthrow of capitalism and the formation of a Socialist United States of Europe.

The unification of Europe is necessary. The underlying cause of World War I was the fact that the capitalist forces of production, in particular those of Germany, had outgrown the boundaries of the European national states. Europe could not develop economically, even 60 years ago, with all the restrictive customs and duties, the copyrights and the patents, the price differentials and so forth, sustained by the multiplicity of national states. It could not do so in the twenties, following its Balkanization by the victors of World War, I at Versailles. Nor could it do so in the forties, following World War II and its re-Balkanization by the victors at Yalta and Potsdam.

If this necessity for a united Europe was once illustrated by the need to unite the coal of the Ruhr with the iron of Lorraine, today it is even more vividly expressed by the separation of vital means of production from the human labor power essential to their operation. Hundreds of thousands of Italians, Yugoslavs, Spaniards and Portuguese, under pressure to sustain their families, are driven from their homelands to seek employment in Germany and Switzerland. There they live like pariahs, subject to the tyrannies of the modern production line, layoffs and mass unemployment.

Following the devastation of World War II, with massive aid from the United States, European capitalism was reestablished and underwent a period of rapid economic growth. Leading European industrialists and financiers, through their political representatives, set in motion a process of capitalist unification of Europe. They aimed to overcome at least

the sharpest contradictions between the operations of their business holdings and the anachronistic existence of a multiplicity of bourgeois national states. They aimed to develop on a pan-European scale a unified home market such as their U.S. counterparts possess on the North American continent. Along with a whole series of immediate projections such as the European Coal and Steel Community, Euratom. and the Common Market, there was even talk of setting up a European government with real powers; with political authority and a common currency.

Where a decade ago there were high hopes and great expectations for a United Europe the prevailing mood today is one of disillusionment, frustration and cynicism. The European Coal and Steel Community, unable to meet the structural crisis which first hit coal and then the steel industry, is bankrupt. Euratom is now moribund. What remains is the Common Market, wracked with internal dissension but into which Britain is now preparing to enter.

The fundamental cause of this change lies in the growing social crisis and the slowing down of economic growth of the past few years, the rise in structural unemployment, particularly among the youth, the crisis in the world monetary system, and the pressure which all these factors exercise on the capitalists in all European countries.

The Common Market itself, rather than a factor, in the process of realizing a dynamic European unification, has become much more an attempt to stave off U.S. Domination — at best to arrive at a successful economic competition with U.S. capitalism which has made big inroads into the European market.

Having put capitalism back on its feet in Europe, the U.S. Monopolists have been driven by their vast accumulation of surpluses of capital, and a tremendous glut of goods pouring off their production lines, to move into the European market on a big scale. The annual sum invested by U.S. companies in those countries now in the Common Market increased fourfold from 1958 to 1965. In Switzerland, for example, U. S. investment, a mere $25-million in 1950, by 1966 had risen to $l,210-million. The total value of U.S. investment in Europe in 1966 was $17.5-billion. U.S. subsidiaries now control 80 percent of Common Market computer production, 24 percent of the motor industry, 15 percent of synthetic rubber production and 10 percent of the petrochemical industry.

Even the powerful European multinational corporations that have been formed through the interpenetration of European capital, without the capitalists of any particular nation predominating, cannot match the capital reserves of the U. S. corporations, nor U.S. technology. Their major advantage is lower relative labor costs, and the crisis is leading them to resort to deflationary policies and to anti-union legislation in order to counteract the falling rate of profit and the decline in their share of exports on the world market.

The fact that the present deepening crisis of European capitalism does not coincide with a severe slump or even a generalized recession only underlines the incapacity of the 'system to resolve its basic contradictions.

For the fact is that even under such relatively favorable conditions of economic development, the elements of social crisis and social revolution have come to the surface once again in Europe; and the fundamental contradiction of capitalism, the contradiction arising out of private property and wage labor, has been posed with a sharpness that has not been seen there in many decades.

The clearest expression of the crisis so far was the revolutionary, upsurge in France in May 1968. Sparked by the students, it culminated in the most massive general strike in world history with hundreds of thousands of workers occupying the factories.

In Italy, buffeted by strike wave after strike wave, parliamentary democracy is in a state of paralysis, and if the parties of the left have failed to give direction one can nonetheless only conclude that the country is approaching a prerevolutionary condition.

In Spain the harsh repression employed by the decaying Franco regime no longer blocks the workers, students and oppressed nationalities from struggle, and even stirs them up. Britain, seesawing between a reformist Labour regime and a Conservative regime for the past two decades, finds the working class once again in militant trade union struggle.

It is these forces, the organized might of the European working class, joined by the revolutionary youth, who are destined to bring about an economically and politically united Europe. This process will commence through a victory in one country and through example will spread throughout Europe to result in the creation of a Socialist United States of Europe.

The alternative to a socialist Europe is not a peaceful evolution, but the triumph of reaction which could eventually lead to fascism. In the last analysis what blocks the old ruling classes of Europe from attempting a coup such as in Greece is only the relationship of forces between the workers and the capitalist class and the fear among the latter that to set up a strong state would ignite a massive counter-move by the working class.

Before taking up the second aspect of the question before us, the implications of a socialist Europe for the Canadian working people, I would make a few observations on Britain's entry into the Common Market and its impact on Canada.

Now saddled with a relatively run-down industrial plant, Britain can no longer profitably compete in the neo-colonial world against the United States and Japan. What was, as the British Empire, a primary source of wealth and power, has now, as the Commonwealth, become a drain on the shrinking British treasury. Hence Prime Minister Heath's refusal to renounce his government's intention to sell arms to apartheid South

Africa, in the face of threats that should it do so the Commonwealth would disintegrate. The Heath government has apparently made its choice.

What effect will this have on Canada? Britain, after the United States, is Canada's biggest customer. Of the $1.2-billion worth of goods that were shipped to her from Canada in 1968, Britain accepted 90 percent duty free. Almost half enjoyed tariff preference over goods coming from the U.S., Japan and the Common Market. According to an article in *Financial Post,* with Britain's entry into the Common Market only a fourth of these Canadian exports would suffer no direct effect. Some 30 percent would not only lose free entry status but would be up against EEC preferences. These include wheat, newsprint, aluminum, and wood pulp. Some 25 percent would lose free entry status and would face reverse EEC preferences.

This would cost Canadian commercial interests something. But it is not excluded that they see the deepening British crisis as threatening the entire international trade and monetary fabric and, if getting into the Common Market would solve Britain's problem, they are prepared to pay the price. After all, while Ottawa has the public purse strings tied tight on welfare for the unemployed they are loose for the granting of subsidies to business interests in trouble. Besides the Canadian capitalist class might hope that Britain, rather than stepping behind the Common Market tariff wall, may succeed, if only to a limited degree, in opening it up — to them.

But the immediate impact of British entry would be to thrust Canadian trade more into the U. S. market—to make Canada even more dependent than it is now on its relations with the U. S. State Department. From the record of the Liberal and Tory governments over the past decade or so, that means further losses for the Canadian people in whatever
control they have now over the country's natural resources, over its economy, and a further crippling of what little sovereignty Canada has left. It would tend to drive Canada more into the area of trade with Japan. That trade, already extensive, is almost exclusively in the form of unprocessed materials, largely lumber, coal, copper and iron ore.

Hence Britain's entry into the Common Market only serves to increase U. S. monopoly capital's economic domination of Canada and tends to make her role in world affairs, certainly under Liberal and Progressive Conservative governments, ever more subservient to these reactionary interests. As Mr. Trudeau explained to a press conference in Jakarta—any serious opposition to Washington's foreign policy, to his mind, "would not be tolerated and would not make any sense."

Mr. Trudeau proved to be a bold and vigorous man when confronted last October by the actions of a handful of terrorists. He imposed the War Measures Act which at one blow suspended the most elementary rights of every Canadian. But when it comes to relations with the U. S. military-industrial complex, Mr. Trudeau and the Canadian capitalist class have accepted the role of junior partner of the U. S. ruling class in the

exploitation of this country's natural resources and the skills of her work force, and serve as abject apologists for its worldwide offensive and exploitative rule.

Mr. Trudeau defends this shameful role as if there were no alternative — with the underlying suggestion that it is imposed upon us and any opposition would not be tolerated.

But there are growing numbers of people across Canada who think there is an alternative — who want Canada to play an independent role in opposition to the policies of the U. S. They want Canada to break from such aggressive military nuclear-armed alliances as NATO-NORAD (North Atlantic Treaty Organization – North American Air Defense Command), which compromise their good name by propping up such oppressive military regimes as the Greek and the Portuguese. They want Canada to condemn sharply U. S. aggression in Vietnam and Cambodia and cease supplying military equipment for such purposes. They see no reason why plants and mills owned by U. S. interests should be prohibited from shipping goods to Cuba or China by made-in-Washington regulations, because they are said to have a military or strategic importance.

They do not see why U. S. corporations should be allowed to close down plants they have bought up because they lower the profit level of a newly-formed conglomerate. They think that they should be taken over, retooled if necessary, for the production of marketable goods, and operated under the control of those who work there.

(Canadian Prime Minister) Mr. Trudeau's suggestion that Washington would not tolerate such a policy fails to take into account the feelings of the American people who are by no means united behind Nixon and in increasing numbers are demanding an end to his war in Vietnam. It is to say that we Canadians are lesser people than the Cubans and the Vietnamese who have been standing up before U.S. Imperialism — and in the case of the Vietnamese for decades, in the face of the most fiendish forces of death and destruction.

Which brings me to the implications of an economically and politically united Europe — as I see it, a United Socialist States of Europe — for the people of Canada.

A victory for socialism would greatly stimulate the struggle here in Canada for a new, a socialist Canada, and the struggle for socialism throughout the West and the Third World. At the same time it would further stimulate the rising struggle for genuine socialist democracy in the USSR and Eastern Europe.

The brutal and oppressive regime that imposed itself on the isolated and backward workers state in Russia, its abrogation of basic political rights, its suppression of entire nationalities and their culture, has brought widespread doubts and discredit on the entire concept of socialism.

The socialism that will arise in the advanced industrial countries of Western Europe will present a completely different physiognomy to the world. Social planning will

develop on a continental scale, thereby permitting a rapid growth of productive forces through the elimination of present-day duplication and waste. It will utilize all existing resources and end the unemployment of people and the under-employment of equipment. It will mean the rapid dissemination of technological progress and scientific knowledge throughout the whole economy.

It will also mean that the use of all resources will be democratically determined by the mass of workers organized in democratically elected self-management workers councils in the plants and on a local, regional, national and international level.

This socialism will broaden the realm of human freedom not only for the workers as a class, but for everyone who works, far beyond anything even visualized by humankind.

We Canadians will have to ensure that nothing is allowed to stand in the way of the free development of a Socialist United States of Europe, and to ensure that all our resources, should they be called upon, are fully available to aid in its success.

end

R.D.

Toronto

(Top note (in R.D.'s hand) Paris Commune proposals across here

March 7 1971 (from Europe)
March 1, 1971

Dear John

I hope my proposal to address all letter to John R although most ofvthe material I would suppose will fall into John S's province is ok--and the idea of separating the projects so they can be clipped and spread around is ok

I am writing this now as I wanted to get a letter off to the South (SWP) and I am following a procedure of sending you a copy always

So you have a copy of the assessments for the World Congress. As you note this will be the one drive for the international this year--taking the place of the May campaign and we have been assigned $1300---$800 of it our travelling costs--$500 to the pool. That seems gen rally not too bad to me. As you will recall we missed the ball on the last international drive ---it was to be in that youth support drive---a general solidarity drive ---with our youth and the world movement. In most cases we got all we coould anyway but you will recall that some of the branches wrote in that they ne never got the mail on this. I recall talking to Coral about our taking th these branches up on this project and still asking them for funds. What did we do? The center here wants the money fo December 31 so we have lots of time. I might be good if in some immedaite PC meeting we had a specific prepared discussion on the fun drives and worked this in at the best time. No reason why we couldn't have it in the fall---but we should work this out. Do you think we should ask for another delegate to be covered Let us say it breaks this way- We raise 1,600--travel cost 1,200 and to pool 400.00. I think we can well make the case for 3--one from the youth who are a symapthizing group and we can certainly make the case for 3 when you consider our size--particularly counting the youth in comparison to other sections. I dont doubt that the Americans are going to raise the whole question of their numbers . I would think off hand that they would want 8 anyway with $4000 to travel--$4,500 to pool. We will see. But you should think it over and give me an idea of how you see things. This must of course be raised with the youth. How many youth do we have and what is the overlap into the league. Give me the data for your case.

Is anyone looking after the John Glenn mailing. You know I never ever did take time to go through his big theseis he sent--which is criminal--and w write him about it. And is soneone mailing him the ISR and dropping him a line from time to time. I thin I must have sent him a letter sometime around October. I think that it is most important that John writes him a letter about what is going on. If you feel that it is not at all practcal for one of you there to take up that long thesis--why not send it over here and I will take a stab at it.

How is our Arab work coming along. I was disapointed not to see Abdullah on the platform of the Buch meeting. How is he coming along these days. Incidently the comrades here know about his being in Canada. It appears th that he is a well known and respected youth leader in his own country. I unfortunately do not really know him---for some reason I assumed that he came to the revolution primarily through finding us here in Canada but it is not so. Has Harry got to really know him. We must take some time to do this and we should push him out. He probably thinks his English is inadequate but of course it is not. In fact it seems to me that we should make more public use of him--shouldn't he give us a forum on the Middle East struggle and also on his own country. I gather we have a big man ther and in our ignorance(possibly some of it is a little chauvinism) we do not know it.

(ends)

LSA/LSO Central Office
334 Queen St. W. Toronto
113, Ontario

March 10,1971

To Branch Organizers and members at large:
Re: New pamphlet from Crescent Publications

Dear Comrades:

Crescent Publications now has in stock the pamphlet For an Independent and Socialist Quebec. This attractive pamphlet (35¢) contains the text of the resolution on Quebec adopted by the 1970 LSA/LSO convention.

The importance of this pamphlet does not have to be stressed. In the Canadian and Quebecois left our movement has the only rounded position on the Quebec national struggle.

Branches should give a good deal of emphasis and thought on how to promote its sales. Coupled with the pamphlet Free Quebec Political Prisoners it is a powerful weapon for creating an understanding of the Quebec national struggle. Although slightly more expensive, the scale of circulation should be similar to that of the Quebec Defense pamphlet.

Branches should place orders with Crescent publications now.

Promotion on the Chartrand Tour

Branches building the Chartrand tour will be receiving bundles of the pamphlet immediately to be sold at the Chartrand meetings. For these the branches or bookstores will be billed in the usual manner through Crescent Publications. Further orders should be made in the usual way.

Comradely,

John Steele.

(Found in 1971)

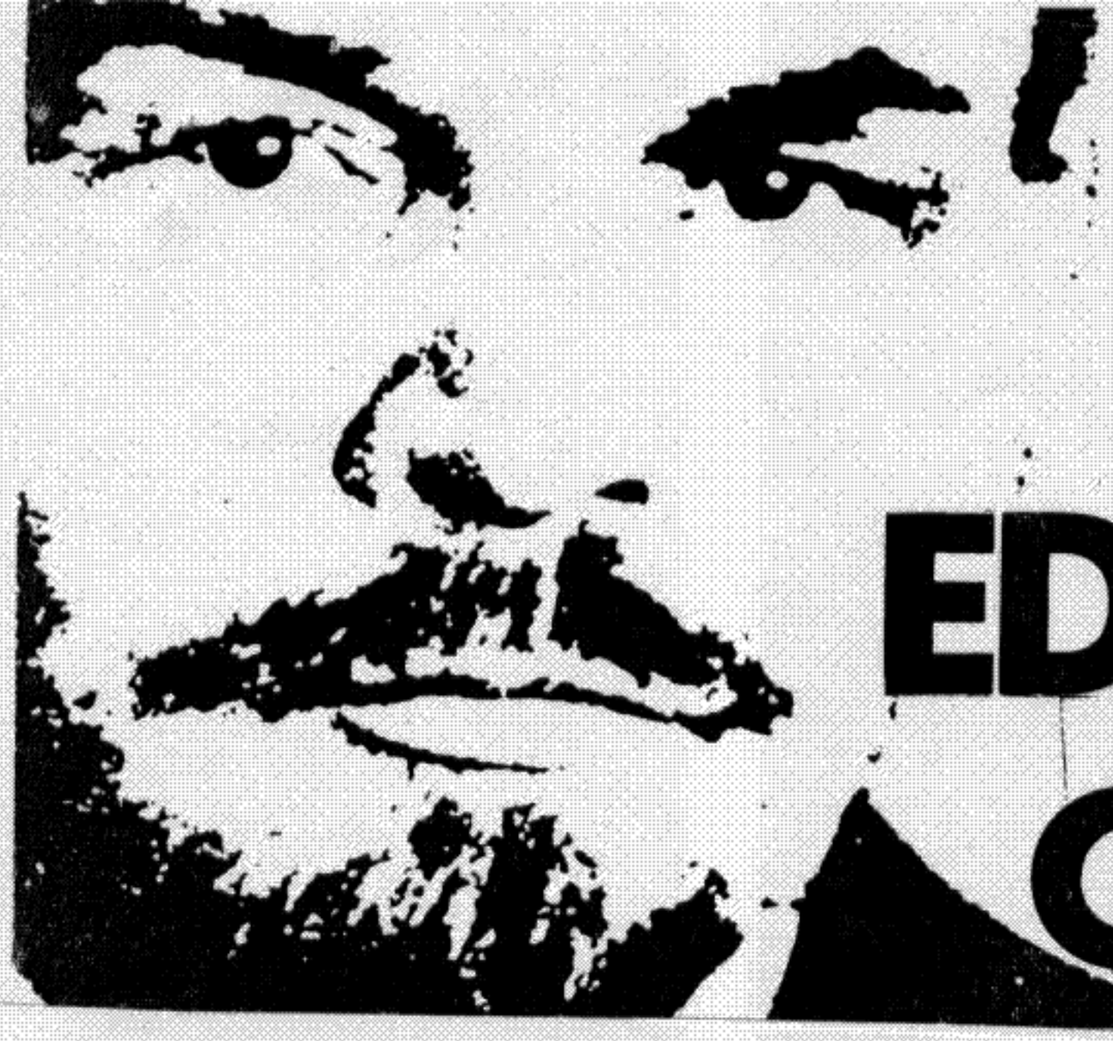
Comments on March 15 issue of Labor Challenge
A very impressiveissue--the more I look at it the more I am impressed by our press---but maybe that's because I am farhter removed from it anticipatingit more, even a little sick to be more around it and the Canadian movement

But here goes.
There is one article that I think is bad. Page 4 China warns US on Laos. Here we are haeding into the April 24 action. What do we get from LC but gloom and doom. And if the ending wasn't bad enough---"as they push humanity to the brik of a 3rd ww seem to remember only their own imperialist interests."......we spell out in the second column "But the ruling circles in Washington, oblivious to world opinion..." Here they are headed for defeat, the Chinese are standing up--- and LC tells us all is up, they are not paying any att ention to the anti-war moods etc.. I see it is an unsigned article. The author should have charges laid against him her--and as for the editor it is hard to see how this could get through===particularly at this time Calls for a big correction ne t issue

And now to go from front to back
Front page line shots really good. However I dont think then we could carry a regualr photo like we did of Gordon and co---had to be a line drawing I think. The head--Stop New --is not strong enough for the style of the rest of the page--so also for Labor mobilizes against--
page2 excellent that box on the YCLer joining us and tied into the fund drive--a good touch. Suprised that YS let us scoop them on this ---a good statement but it doesn't really give you a feel of what the YCL experience was like--end of illusions--too sophisticated and high level politics.
Why do we call CPL small
Two jabs on Trudeau's eat shit. But read themover and you dont know what Trudeau said. I raised this with Jacquie on YS. Lot's of people dont know what we are referring to. My impression is that the press did not give this a big play and probably in some areas didn't even mention it. So the jab has a sort of insider appeal--and thus thrusts many reade rs out into the cold.
page 3 The Mont Laurier actionis really terrific. Excellent development and well used by Vern. But why did we have to use the quotes from Montreal Star--why as if it was some distant land and we had to be cautious--why didn't we get all the papers and write as if we were there. Which raises the simple and obvious question--months of preparation---where is the LJS LSO. No statement , no leaflet . Seems no task for us to have gone up there --only 145 miles n of Montreal. Ask them--the articles begs an answer. The photo is excellent--all youth. While it is true that Dunlop can correctly be called multi-national--I dont think we should use this term as I cracked in the article on page 7
CLC brief------Westell "caught the pulse" "In an interchange with Tru" something to do with highways--exchange? Last demand seems to me to be just tagged on --planned economy and public ownership. I dont see why we should quote that description of MacDonald 2nd paragraph--who are we quoting--- and what's wrong with him appearing in a sober suit, stiff white collar, heavy horned rimmed glasses...." Should he have appeared in sandals, beads and turtle neck ??? I dont get it
page 5---good article by Art--a bit long and over detailed but good. too bad he didn't use his own name in La Lutte. The passivity and domin ation of this convention says something about the unevenness of the radicaliszation in Quebec doesn't it

22 on arch 15 LC
page / --good interview. Sorry we didn't get much on the movement--no feeling of what is cooking--but space problems
page 7 --my article needed sub heads in the worst way. Good to see contact boy filling out . Layout not very attractive-tends to kill article ~~xxxxx~~
By the way how is St kitts shaping up with our young comrade going in.
page 9 Where was March 2 meeting photo of Chartrand ?? Looks like Michel is going to give us some really good speeches from this article ---really fine that Diane was on platform. Article on Penny is writtne oddly--although it is very good. A sort of half interview and half commenet on inside knowledge. Why the sic after Socialist Workers League--just a transaltion of LSO isn't it--and I dont see anything wrong with that par ticularly...when someone else does it. We wouldn't do it but so what?
page 10-- te photo is not of anti union bill protest as I recall but postal workers--right--did I tear it off perhaps. Dont thikn the insertion of the 4th paragraph from the previous article did naything but break the style--however I am probably prejudiced. Good to see that you got that in although Intercontinantal didn't but used old one and then went to the trouble of writing up their own on later developments as if they couldn't expect me to come through. Wonder what they will do on March 18 event? I intend to wro e of course. What are you going to do with the various other items--Russian art etc....
Glad to see we gave good coverage to Czech trials--very significant that we have a stright political trial with Trotskyists showing their stuff. Too bad you gave so little to the Paris occuaption of Embassy. But we are going to press again... should carry more on this significant event. Intercontinental must not have got the stuff in time from Ernest
page 11--and excellent article by Eugene. $30 --dont talk to me about Bengal. But I must insist--are we trying to get this comrade run out of town--why dont we use a pseudonym
page 12---suprised to see from Dick's article that they are still making arrests under the Public Order Act--my feeling is contrary to Dick's last paragraph--suprised that they dare do so and apparently can get away with it.
No rules again around the pamphlet cover. I hope this is not the real co cover--that we were able to use one of the three or four designs I worked out. Glad ot see Wayne without that hair and beard. But suprised how little we used him--one little paragraph at the end. And he is so valueable --a mistake I think --obvious.

So there it is as I marked it up--but not as I would relate it to the edit board--I would have overlooked many many little things I here mention. All this takes nothing from my opening comments which were an overall impression after having marked it all up.



SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE

Saturday MAR 20

Debates Room (second floor)
Hart House U. of Toronto

10am Women's Suffrage Movement

A discussion of the aims and achievements of this heroic struggle and of the problems which underlay its decline. What lessons does it hold for the women's liberation movement today?
Speaker: Katie Curtin, Executive Council of the Young Socialists, a member of the U. of T. Women's Caucus

2pm Canadian Nationalism

U.S. domination of Canadian culture and the economy has become a major concern in Canada. How does the viewpoint of revolutionary socialism compare to the viewpoints of such groups as the Committee for an Independent Canada, the Canadian Liberation Movement and the Waffle.

Speaker: John Riddell, editor of Labor Challenge

8pm Party! 334 Queen St. W

Sunday MAR 21

Debates Room (second floor)
Hart House U. of Toronto

2pm Where Does the Radicalization Go From Here?

How will the working class become radicalized? What role will the trade unions and N.D.P. play? Is a vanguard party necessary to lead the struggle for socialism in Canada?

Speaker: Joan Newbigging, Toronto organizer of the of the League for Socialist Action

Sponsored by League for Socialist Action/Young Socialists

information Toronto 364-5908 **Registration fee $2. students $1.50**

March 24th, 1971.

To all branches and members at large:

(re: "Libération" - ed.)

Dear comrades:

On April 2, the first issue of our new Quebec paper is scheduled to appear - an 8 page, two-colour monthly, twice as large and twice as effective as La Lutte Ouvriere and Jeune Garde, which it will replace. The proposal for the new paper, yet to be named, will be formally considered by the National Committees of the League and the Youth, who are meeting March 28th.

Already our drive has focused on the need to respond to the heightened radicalization set in motion by the October crisis in Quebec. Now we will have a new and qualitatively more effective press for our work in Quebec. It's up to us to redouble our efforts through our fund drive to ensure it can be a success !

As if in anticipation of this new move, branches are already telling us that, in planning the drive, we missed the mark. St Catharines comrades write indignantly that their assigned quota of $300 is an insult to the branch ! On their demand their quota has been doubled. Vancouver comrades have already received pledges $200 over their quota of $3,500 and have raised their quota to $4,500. They suggest they may well exceed the new goal by an additional $500! Already $1,530 has been turned in to the Vancouver fund drive coordinator.

Are these branches unique? The branch quotas were carefully worked out, applying a common standard to every branch. And all branches who have responded tell us we woefully underestimated the possibilities.

Montreal: goal $1,250, pledges so far $350, expect to go over. Toronto: goal is to raise comrades monthly pledges by $250. The first 12 comrades approached have accounted for $142. Lloydminster has sent $500!

The handwriting is on the wall. In setting our goal of $16,000, the Central Office was mired in conservatism and routinism. Our fund drive's original goal was only 20% higher than our achievement last year. The branches are calling us to order: we must raise our sights -- raise the goal of our fund drive, and use the funds to regear our whole movement to the new and unprecedented challenges now facing Canadian Trotskyism.

We have just concluded the Chartrand tour -- the biggest and most successful single political action in our movement's history. Each day the Young Socialists receive news of new breakthroughs in campuses across the country.

In Vancouver the first contact approached has her differences with our movement, and had a chorus of complaints about Labor Challenge. But she pledged $100. In Toronto the first two pledges from contacts totalled over $500 -- and one pledge, of $240, came from a contact whom we had not planned to appraoch.

There's a new mood, a new willingness to make a serious investment in the revolutionary movement.

The Young Socialists report good sales of their Victory Bonds at $10. Let me predict -- by the end of this drive we will have received more than one donation of over $,$1,000.

This is a new period for Canadian Trotskyism. The feeling is spreading among all those in contact with our movement. It demands much more of us, it will bring us unprecedented gains.

Comradely,

John Riddell
Fund Drive Coordinator.

Found in 1971

Poetry as the Expression of Social Concern

Pablo Neruda

a talk on this great Spanish American poet and political activist in Chile, with readings from his poetry.

Speaker: Keith Ellis

- associate professor, Dept. of Italian & Hispanic studies, U. of T.
- authority on Spanish American literature
- translator of Neruda

Fri. Mar. 26 8 p.m.

334 Queen St. W.

Vanguard Forum

admission $1.00 students & employed .50

for further information call 364-5908

Found in 1971

Michel Chartrand Robert Lemieux Speak!

Sun. Mar. 28

2 p.m.

Convocation Hall, U. of T.

(Kings College Rd., 2 blocks west of University, north of College)

Michel Chartrand, president of the Montreal Central Council of the Confederation of National Trade Unions, and Robert Lemieux, defense lawyer. Both are prominent defendants in the Quebec political trials.

Free all Political Prisoners!

Repeal the Public Order Act!

No new Repressive Legislation!

Sponsored by the

Emergency Committee for the Defense of Political Rights in Quebec

P.O. Box 58, Stn. M, Toronto 21

For further information phone 763-6989 or 466-3994

☐ I would like more information about the ECDPRQ.

☐ I would like to assist in the work of the ECDPRQ.

☐ I would like to make a donation to the defense of political rights in Quebec.

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

PHONE.....

Clip and mail to:

Emergency Committee for the Defense of Political Rights in Quebec,
P.O. Box 58, Stn. M,
Toronto 21.

1971 PUBLICATIONS FUND DRIVE

To all branches: March 30, 1971.

Dear comrades,

When we talk of the fund drive, we usually look at the challenges that lie ahead. But let's take a look at our record--at a particularly important part of it. This was the year that wasn't!

We wanted to publish a pamphlet last summer on the Trinidad uprising and Canadian imperialism. We could have, and made money too, if...

We aimed to print the first edition of James P. Cannon's writings in the French language. An urgent, essential task, but...

Comrades were still waiting for our 1968 Political Resolution, our most rounded view of Canada's revolutionary future. But how could we publish it, when...

A lot of comrades asked if we couldn't run some feature articles on the nature of the Canadian bourgeoisie, and up-date our pamphlet on Canada-U.S. relations. It might have been a good idea...

We decided to publish a quarterly theoretical journal. But it would have increased our publications budget almost 10 percent, so...

From seven branches we grew to thirteen. The new branches needed aid, advice; a cross-country tour by our executive secretary would have helped immensely, but...

A movement exploding in growth and activity deluged our central office with suggestions, requests, demands. But the size of our central office staff remained at that magic figure where it has rested for some decades, one comrade...

We tried to allocate funds to new purposes, new projects. But the main increase in expenditure on our central office budget last year was-- interest payments on debts. Ours was the curse of operating in the red: not a penny for new ideas; more and more for payments on debts.

We wondered--are we being bypassed? Will the radicalization race past us as we become conditioned to think of new projects only as new bills added to our bog of debts, deficits and financial crises?

Then when we totalled up the possible quotas for the publications fund drive this year, a long-awaited goal came in view. If we make $16,000 this year, and if we live right, we'll <u>break even</u>!

But something totally new happened in this year's drive. For the first time in our memory, branches started not just meeting their quotas but going over the top. First Vancouver and St. Catharines raised their quotas. Then Montreal, from $1250 to $1500. Then Richmond Hill, from $300 to $400. The overall goal of the drive, originally $16,000, is now up to $17,650.

They say an extra pound of snow lets loose the avalanche. The extra 5 or 10 percent added to our fund drive converts a break-even stand-pat operation to one with at least a small margin of flexibility for new projects, for expansion.

What does an extra $1650 mean? It's enough to pay the better part of a debt which is otherwise costing us some $200 in interest plus heavy monthly payments. Or it would be enough to finance four or five pamphlets. It's half-way to the amount needed to double the full-time staff of the central office.

It's only the beginning. Some branches have yet to be heard from. Others will also raise their quotas, we are sure. And we are all working for a drive which can raise its goal, then meet it, and so regear the whole movement for its new possibilities in the coming year.

Comradely,

John Riddell

John Riddell,
Fund Drive Coordinator.

- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

April 3, 1971

Since the above letter was written, two additional branches have raised their quotas. Here is the standing today.

Branch:	Original Quota Proposed:	Quota Adopted:	Amount Paid:
New Brunswick	150	150	0
Montréal	1250	1500	
Ottawa	250	no report	
Toronto	7400	8000	15
Richmond Hill	300	400	
Orillia	100	no report	
Kitchener	150	150	0
St. Catharines	300	600	0
Sudbury	300	no report	
Winnipeg	100	no report	
Saskatoon	250	250	93
Edmonton	400	525	280
Vancouver	3500	4500	900
Youth	400	not yet underway	
At Large members	600	600	580
Hamilton	400	400	0
TOTAL	$15,850	$18,225	$1,868

334 Queen St. W.,
Toronto 2B, Ont.,
March 31, 1971

To: All coordinators of Quebec defense work
Branch and local organizers

Dear Comrades:

The just-concluded Chartrand tour was the biggest cross-country action our movement has yet carried.

He addressed a total of over 10,000 in public meetings, and many times that number in media coverage. New defense committees were established in some areas; in others, already-existing groups were consolidated. The impressive list of sponsors and platform representatives in most areas indicates that we made significant gains in building community support. In particular, the warm response on campuses was a good barometer of the extent of the new radicalization among students, of which a key factor is the growing disillusionment among wide sectorsof the population concerning the government's action last October.

We have so far received only a very few area reports on the tour. However, we do have sufficient information to point to a few important weaknesses which we should try to avoid in future.

One of the prime purposes of the tour was to raise funds for the defense work in Quebec. Yet only $600 remained for the MDPPQ at the conclusion of the first cross-country leg of the tour, as of March 23. It would seem that the approach to raising funds was not serious enough in some areas; and it was complicated by extraordinarily high expenses in hotel bills, etc. Incidentally, we have not yet received the assigned quotas from some committees, to cover basic expenses of the tour that were handled from this end.

Another major weakness was the lack of identification of our own forces at the meetings. We did an excellent job of building impressive sponsorship -- but then, at the meetings, almost without exception, the Young Socialists and LSA were not identified on the platform. Other tendencies and individuals were given the politically important jobs -

An example is Toronto, March 28. An audience of 1,200, all the media present -- yet no mention of our movement at any point in the meeting. One non-comrade -- whom we had built up as an "independent" -- chaired the meeting, handled announcements, made the financial appeal and introduced the speakers! And this, not because of redbaiting from other tendencies, but because we ourselves, eager to broaden the committee and keep it "non-partisan," had unconsciously fostered an atmosphere of hostility toward overt participation of political organizations.

(more)

We are the only political tendency that fights unconditionally and consistently for the defense of the Quebec political prisoners, for the Quebec revolution. It is a political erro to hide this. We must never forget that the underlying aim of all our activities is to build the party.

Where do we go from here? The Chartrand tour has shown the possibilities to build a mass movement against the political trials and the repression in Quebec. The controversy over the Pelletier book and other literature (Golden-Haggart's book, etc.) is a powerful reinforcement to that movemen . There is a renewed interest in why Trudeau invoked the War Measures Act. And at the sema time, the repression continues and hardens -- no repeal of the Public Order Act, new charges, new threats of special police measures, etc.

1) The major cross-country action we are projecting for the next period is to build the Waterloo Commission of Enquiry into the War Measures Act. The Commission would focus on all the pects mentioned above, and perform an important educational function. We are planning to throw major forces into this work. Details have yet to be worked out with the comrades most directly involved — a circular on this will go out within a week -- but we are proposing that local committees of inquiry across the country, initiated by the defense groups, would hold "hearings" in their areas, to gather evidence of violations of democratic rights under the WMA. These hearings might be attended by one or more members of the "tribunal," some prestigious and articulate individual (s). The whole project would culminate in a weekend meeting of the tribunal, probably in late June, which would hear witnesses and summaries of the evidence of these local assemblies, and deliver its "verdict." The proceedings could probably be published in book form.

The tribunal will be launched shortly by a "preliminary hearing" at Waterloo which will issue an "indictment" This, it is hoped, will attract wide media attention.

2)Some comrades have raised the question of Quebec Defense contingents in the April 24 antiwar actions. We think that in general this is a good idea. It willnot narrow the committees' appeal: people who support self-determination for Quebec are unlikely to oppose it for Vietnam. It gives us an opportunity to publicize dramatically the plight of the political prisoners, in particular the impending trial dates of April 26 (Vallières-Gagnon) and May 3 (Chartrand-Lemieux, etc.). In addition, it is worth noting that the repression unleashed last fall through the War Measures Act directly threatens the right of all Canadians to demonstrate against the war. And it was the "peacekeeping" troops that Ottawa hasoffered several times for use in Southeast Asia that were used to repress the Québécois.

3) The trial dates mentioned in (2) are also occasions for Quebec defense actions. Some areas -- especially where our forces are less numerous -- may wish to follow the Winnipeg comrades' suggestion that such actions coincide with May Day -- "inter-national" solidarity with the Québécois. We should watch for any moves by Ottawa to introduce permanent repressive legislation.

4) We are pushing the Emergency Committee in Toronto to undertake publication of popular brochures and/or a book containing speeches by Chartrand/Lemieux, etc. and the transcripts of some of the key court proceedings including the successful "motion to quash" in the February seditious conspiracy trials. Please keep the center informed of any similar publications projects in your area. The ECDPRQ is also bringing out an attractive button, Free Quebec Political Prisoners, in the red-white-green colors of the Québécois Patriotes.

5) Finally, and above all, now is the time to make a big push to consolidate the contacts we have gained around the recent tour and other defense actions. If the experience in Toronto is any indication, there are a considerable number of people radicalized by the Quebec experience, who are ripe for recruitment to our movement.

Nous vaincrons,

Comradely,

Dick Fidler,
for the PC

Laxer answers attacks on Waffle NDP campaign

See page 5

Jim Laxer

labor Challenge

Vol. 2, No. 4 (26) March 1, 1971 15 cents

Quebec left recovers

page 3

Laos war deepens, N. Vietnam next?

April 24 focus for antiwar protests

See page 8

'Women unite— abortion is our right'

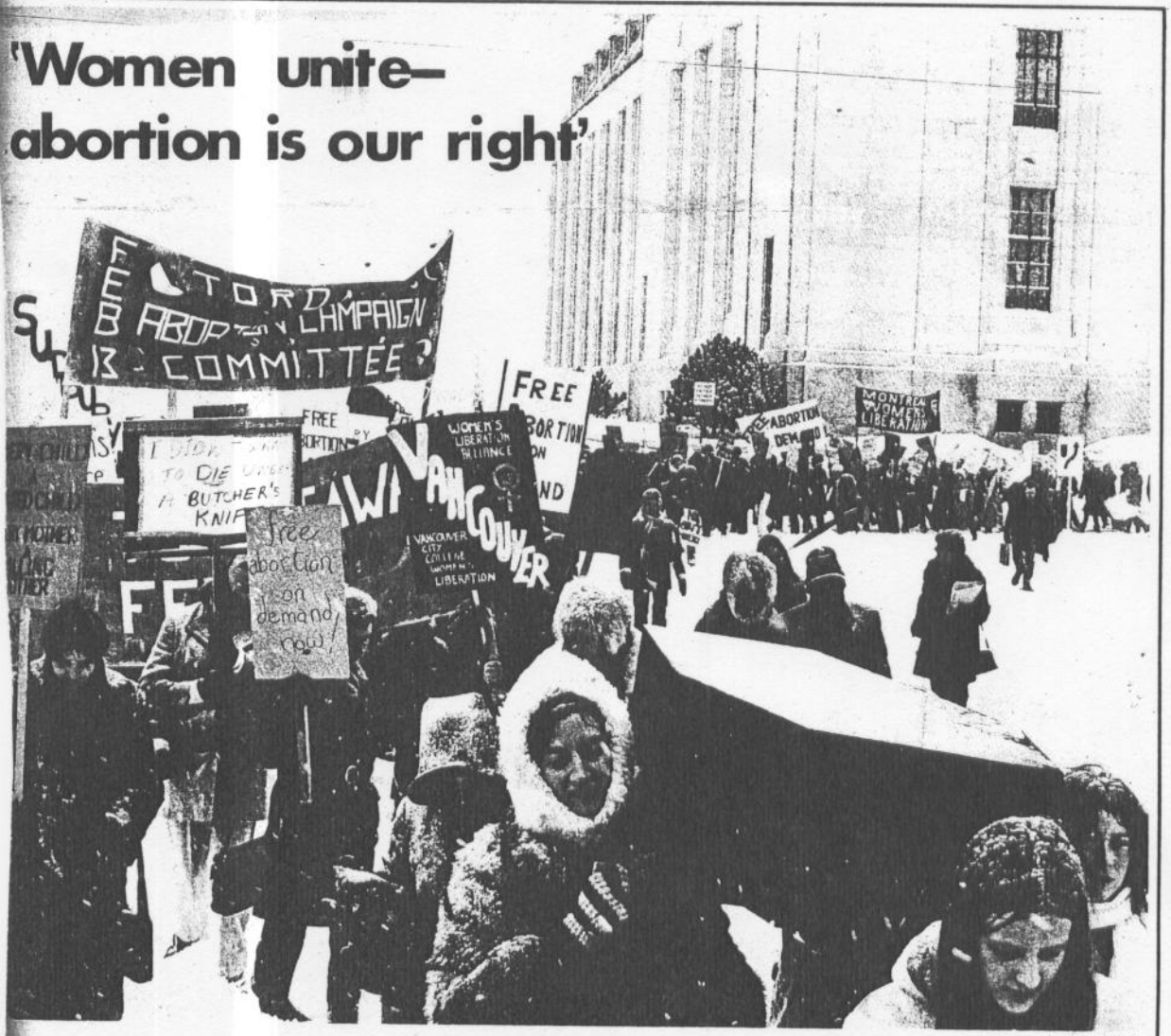


photo by White

TURNING THE COFFIN TO THE SCENE OF THE CRIME. Demonstrators in Ottawa for the right to free abortion on demand setting out for Parliament Hill Feb. 13. The coffin, symbolic of thousands of Canadian women killed by botched abortions, was deposited at the door of Parliament, in protest against the Trudeau government's refusal to grant the right to abortion.

labor Challenge #26 Mar 1971

Interview with Jim Laxer

'Our aim – to win support for socialist course in NDP'

Jim Laxer is the candidate of the left-wing "Waffle" group for the leadership of the federal New Democratic Party. In the following interview with Labor Challenge (on Feb. 14) he explains some of the objectives and views of the Waffle. Interviewer is John Steele.

Labor Challenge: What is the major purpose of the Waffle leadership campaign?

Jim Laxer: The major purpose of the campaign is to win real support for a left position in the party. Not only support for Waffle programmatic positions, but also support for the kind of activities a socialist party must be involved in if it is to be effective. It is not enough for left people to challenge the party on the basis of program. They must also challenge it on the basis of leading positions within the party.

LC: Candidate Ed Broadbent has stated that the other leadership candidates shouldn't attack the Waffle. Do you agree?

Laxer: If other candidates have serious policy disagreements with the Waffle they should freely debate the positions that we take. If they are challenging our right to put forward our positions or are suggesting that we are trying to split the party then their attacks can seriously weaken the NDP. The rank and file of the party is in favor of free discussion and our right to put our positions forward is not being challenged at the present time.

LC: In British Columbia, Premier Bennett has challenged the NDP to cut its links with organized labor. What is your response to this?

Laxer: Premier Bennett can stuff it. He has always been glad to get the unimpeded support of big business for his own party while trying to restrict the capacity of workers to support their party.

LC: At the present time, the Waffle movement's links with affiliated local unions are not widespread. How do you intend to overcome this?

Laxer: The Waffle's links with organized labor are growing in Ontario, Saskatchewan and British Columbia — because Waffle people are becoming active in some important struggles of the labor movement. Recent examples in Ontario include work with the Dunlop workers, Precious Metal workers at Johnson, Mathey and Mallory and workers at Acme Screw and Gear. The Waffle has sent speakers to a large number of union seminars and union local meetings. Waffle positions received wide labor support at the Ontario Federation of Labor convention last October. There are now a significant number of trade union activists in the Waffle group itself.

LC: How extensive is the Waffle campaign and Waffle support across the country?

Laxer: The campaign is best organized in Ontario and Saskatchewan with significant support in B.C., Alberta, Manitoba and Quebec. The areas of greatest strength are riding associations in urban Ontario and rural Saskatchewan. We are circulating a tabloid newspaper outlining our program to 30,000 party members as well as providing booklets of our resolutions to riding meetings, all-candidates debates, and to all delegates and alternates to the convention.

LC: How is the campaign financed?

Laxer: We are raising money through personal appeals for the Laxer for Leader campaign, and this appeal has been quite effective so far in bringing in money for campaign expenses, which include travel, publication of literature and expenses for facilities at the convention itself. The tabloid newspaper will cost about $1,300 and we expect to spend far more than any other candidate on political literature in the campaign.

LC: Does the Waffle intend to run a full slate of candidates at the federal convention?

Laxer: The Waffle group, in caucus, at the opening of the convention, will decide on the extent of the slate to be run.

LC: Will the Waffle caucuses at the convention be open to all delegates?

Laxer: Yes.

LC: How do you reply to the charge the Waffle is a party within the party?

JIM LAXER, Waffle candidate for NDP leadership.

Laxer: The Waffle group is entirely made up of members of the NDP. It is a left group that meets openly and that invites the participation of all members of the NDP. The positions it puts forward are in

→p. 2

the form of resolutions and policy statements to be presented to the NDP convention. These statements have no status apart from their status as resolutions to NDP conventions.

LC: Radicalizing youth today often say the NDP is like the other parties and therefore they don't want to be involved with the NDP or the Waffle. What do you say to these youth?

Laxer: I say that the goals of radical youth are most broadly expressed in the desire to build an independent socialist Canada and that the NDP as a party of working people is the force that most effectively brings together and speaks for those sections of the Canadian people that are essential to the goals of independence and socialism. The desire of young people to control their educational institutions and to control their places of work or even to have the possibility of work cannot be realized within the present capitalist system. Only a socialist party whose main task is to build the socialist movement in Canada and to involve itself in the struggles of Canadians where they take place can realize these goals.

LC: What do you think of the idea that the NDP convention should demonstrate against the U.S. aggression in Indochina, in solidarity with the international protests taking place at the same time?

Laxer: The idea of the convention showing its support for the campaign against the war in Indochina by demonstrating on Parliament Hill at some time during the convention is an excellent idea.

LC: Some New Democrats have said support for Quebec independence would destroy the NDP. Do you agree?

Laxer: I think the NDP must support the right of Quebec to national self-determination. I don't think it is the business of the NDP which is overwhelmingly an English-Canadian party to advocate Quebec independence. Our task must be to educate English Canadians to the fact of Quebec nationhood. We must ensure that Quebecers are able to choose their own future without interference from the federal government of Canada.

LC: Do you think the current political trials in Quebec will increase support in the NDP for the Waffle position of self-determination for Quebec?

Laxer: The quashing of the "seditious conspiracy" charges against the Montreal Five shows how bogus the campaign of the government against the Quebec left has been. This will help to expose the purposeful political repression on the part of the government last fall. I hope it opens the eyes of all New Democrats to what has been going on in Quebec.

LC: Is it true, as claimed by David Lewis and the daily press, that the Waffle is supporting the Parti Quebecois?

Laxer: No. The Waffle group has called for an alliance with socialists in English Canada and Quebec. The socialists in Quebec will be found in the trade union movement, in the teachers' movement, the student movement and FRAP (the municipal labor-based party that contested the recent Montreal elections — Ed.), and around individual socialist members in the PQ. We are not advocating an alliance with any other political party outside the NDP.

LC: Do you think the PQ hinders or furthers the development of a Quebec labor party?

Laxer: The PQ is not a socialist party although it contains important left-wing elements and has an important base among working people. Sooner or later, a Quebec socialist party which opposes American imperialism and advocates a fundamental transfer of power to the working people of Quebec will emerge. How this will come about, I simply don't know.

LC: Waffle involvement in extraparliamentary action, such as the demonstrations against the resources deal and for public ownership of natural resources, have opened it to criticism that it is for violent social change. What is the Waffle position on this?

Laxer: Mass democratic action is essential to achieving socialism. This includes demonstrations, political and economic strikes, boycotts and the building of people's political institutions. Such mass action has nothing to do with individual terrorism by people who attempt to replace the broad populace in achieving fundamental change.

Financial contributions to aid the Laxer for Leader campaign may be sent to 68 Castle Knock Road, Toronto.

labor Challenge #26 Mar 1971

Anger, pride, unity mark abortion march

by Lis Angus

"It seems the only way you can get into Parliament is if you agree with the government — but 44 percent of Canadians agree with us!" Pam Furlotte, of the Toronto Abortion Campaign Committee, expressed the anger all of us felt on Feb. 13.

After travelling from all parts of the country to demand that the government act now to meet the need of women for free abortion on demand, our only welcome was two rows of burly RCMP officers denying us access to the Parliament buildings.

In the middle of the worst snowstorm of the winter, we had marched through downtown Ottawa, our bright placards and banners the only color in the whiteness of the storm. Four sisters carried a black coffin symbolizing the unnecessary death of thousands of women from botched, illegal abortions. We sang and chanted as we marched: "The state has no right in the wombs of the nation"; "Women unite — stand up and fight — free abortion is our right." We shouted those songs and slogans; they echoed down the tall columns of buildings. We were proud as we shouted — proud of our sisters, proud of the strength and the rightness of our struggle. People lined up in front of the stores to watch and listen, and many joined us. No storm could weaken us — we were women united, fighting for our rights, marching side by side with the men who supported us.

We stood in the wind and driving snow on Parliament Hill, over 300 of us. Another 50 were stranded in the blizzard on the road from Toronto. We heard for the first time that we would not be allowed to meet in the room we had requested — the same room we had met in last year.

No government representatives were there to meet us, to hear the brief we had prepared. The indifference of the Canadian government to the needs of women was fully revealed to all of us.

We left the coffin in front of the door to remind the government of the uncounted victims of its refusal to recognize women's right to abortion on demand. On it we left instruments which are commonly used for abortions: bent coathangers, Lysol, pads of cotton. Many of us felt an almost overwhelming rage at a government which callously forces women to mutilate themselves with these crude implements.

We returned to the church where our march had started from, to hold the rally we had not been allowed to hold at Parliament. Chairwoman Lorna Grant

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Abortion rallies in 9 cities show strength of movement

The deepening roots of women's liberation sentiment in Canada were clearly revealed in the wide range of localities which participated in the Feb. 13 actions. While the Ottawa march encompassed participants from groups in 14 cities, parallel actions were held at eight points across the country.

The Vancouver Women's Liberation Alliance followed up presentation of a brief to B.C. health minister Loffmark Feb. 10 with a march and rally of 200 Feb. 13.

In Saskatoon 100 protested against Trudeau at the opening of the winter games. The action was only one aspect of a broad campaign at which some 700 in all participated in five meetings and three demonstrations.

When Trudeau dropped down to Regina he was again personally confronted by advocates of the right to abortion, who formed part of a broader demonstration.

Forty persons marched at the shoppers' mall in Brandon, Man., and later won the right to state their case at a New Democratic Party dinner for T.C. Douglas. The Winnipeg federal building was picketed in 15-below-zero weather.

Some 50 persons marched for free abortion on demand in Fredericton, N.B. and Halifax. And the Kitchener contingent on the Ottawa march followed up a hectic night riding and pushing buses through the blizzard with an action Feb. 14 in their home town.

In Montreal an action will be held on March 8, International Women's Day, calling particular attention to the stubborn refusal of French-language hospitals to perform abortions.

photo by Whi

STORMING THE GATES. Protesters for the right to free abortion on demand hammered their brief to the door of Parliament — or as close to it as they could get.

opened the rally. "It's very significant, the way we've been locked out of parliament today," she said. "It's indicative of all the things we've been locked out of — control of our lives, knowledge of our histories." A woman shouted from the floor, "We won't be locked out of our futures, though!"

The platform was crowded with representatives from 14 cities. Greetings were given to the rally from all the groups who had participated in the campaign, particularly noting the solidarity actions being held on the 13th in Fredericton, Saskatoon, Edmonton, and Vancouver. Letters were read from Grace Hartman, national secretary-treasurer of CUPE, and from Grace McInnis, the only woman Member of Parliament, NDP representative from Vancouver-Kingsway.

Dr. Henry Morgentaler, the Montreal doctor who is currently being prosecuted for performing illegal but medically safe abortions, addressed the rally. "I think you are in the vanguard of women in Canada; each one of you probably represents at least 100,000 more." He stated that the most recent statistics available from the Dominion Bureau of Statistics showed that in 1966, 45,482 women were admitted to hospitals for complications from abortions. He estimated that at least 150,000 abortions occur in Canada every year. Yet, in the first year of the new abortion laws, only about 4,000 legal abortions were performed.

For most of us, the most important and the most exciting part of the day was the strategy meeting of women's liberationists after the rally. In spite of hunger and fatigue, in spite of long bus rides ahead in the blizzard — the women voted overwhelmingly to forego supper to talk about the future direction of the movement coming out of this campaign.

We shared our difficulties, our experiences, our ideas with each other. Out of the meeting grew a tremendous feeling of unity and a determination to go back and mobilize all those thousands of women Dr. Morgentaler spoke of.

A series of proposals was put forward to continue the abortion campaign through local actions around Mother's Day May 9, to build International Women's Day March 8 as a day of women's liberation; to hold a series of regional conferences to coordinate and plan the building of this movement, leading up to another national women's liberation conference; and to use the Velvet Fist, the newspaper of the Toronto Women's Caucus, to coordinate all these actions. All these proposals were passed unanimously.

The meeting ended with singing "Solidarity forever." That feeling of solidarity was very real and very strong. As we got back into our buses for the long night's drive through the drifting snow, we knew that though the struggle for women's liberation might be long and hard, we would be able to carry it through. We know that sisterhood is, and will be, unimaginably powerful.

EDITORIAL

Meaning of Feb. 13 actions

The Feb. 13 abortion campaign has given a new confidence to the women's liberation movement, the confidence of having chosen a direction — that of building a mass, non-exclusionist women's movement.

The abortion campaign was the largest cross-country action yet carried by the movement. It reached out beyond the organized movement to draw in new layers of women.

The campaign coordinated all these actions nationally and focused women's demands clearly against the federal government — against the representatives of Canada's ruling class which has such a big stake in maintaining the oppression of women.

This campaign was all the more significant as the first cross-country action since the abortion caravan of last year. A major achievement of the campaign was the projection of a future direction and future actions: celebrations of International Women's Day March 8 — traditionally a day of women's solidarity — and abortion actions on Mother's Day, a time to point out that when we honor mothers, we must recognize their right to be willing mothers.

Another achievement of the campaign is that, through action, it has taken a major step to resolving the strategy debate which has shaken the movement and which divided the Saskatoon women's conference last November.

Two projected ways of building the movement were counterposed in this debate: a mass action perspective, or a perspective of building a narrow revolutionary-sounding movement defined by rhetoric — not action — and limited to a narrow range of women who think and talk the same way.

This debate carried on throughout the campaign. Many elements — including prominent leaders of the movement — stood aside and criticized the campaign: abortion was a worn-out issue; mass action is the wrong way; new women will not be won this way; the whole thing is a Trotskyist plot.

But the campaign itself answered all these objections. The movement was extended, broadened, revitalized and immeasurably strengthened by this action. The strategy meeting in Ottawa was characterized by the unanimous sentiment: YES, this is how we went to build the movement — we want to reach out to all women through coordinated actions.

This action had problems, but a lot has been learned from it. The experiences, and the new forces that have been gathered, will be of immense value in the inspiring task of building a mass movement to liberate women.

labor Challenge

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labor Challenge
#26 Mar 1971

Victory of Montreal Five:

Ruling exposes Trudeau's claims

by Robert Dumont

Seventeen persons accused of belonging to or aiding the outlawed Front de Liberation du Quebec come up for trial in Montreal March 1. The charges, laid under the Trudeau government's Public Order Act, carry a maximum penalty of five years imprisonment.

Among the alleged FLQers are the "Montreal Five" — trade union leader Michel Chartrand, author Pierre Vallieres, teacher Charles Gagnon, lawyer Robert Lemieux, and ex-CBC producer Jacques Larue-Langlois.

On Feb. 12, the charges of seditious conspiracy against the Five were quashed on a ruling by Mr. Justice Ouimet. The ruling came as something of a surprise. No sooner was the judge's decision announced, than the prosecutor asked that the court adjourn — so he might consult the acting attorney-general, Premier Robert Bourassa!

Was the prosecutor simply putting on an act to suggest that Bourassa did not have a hand in the decision to quash the charges? Whatever the case, the Quebec government, and behind it the Trudeau government in Ottawa, have good reason to be alarmed at the way the political show trials in Montreal are going for them. The victory of the Montreal Five was a big blow to the authorities' attempts to frame these leading defendants.

The Five had argued their motion to quash the charges on political grounds — the obvious phoniness of the "apprehended insurrection" alleged by Trudeau when he invoked the War Measures Act — and on legal grounds — the vague and imprecise nature of the charges.

While Mr. Justice Ouimet based his ruling on the strictly legal aspect, there is no doubt that political factors weighed heavily in his decision. How, after all, can the charges be made more "precise" when they lack substance altogether?

The fact is, the trials — even before they got seriously underway, with the selection of juries, etc. — had backfired on the government. Facing increasing political embarrassment over their obvious inability to produce any evidence to back their charges, the authorities had been forced to back down.

Despite this setback to its witch-hunt campaign, the government is proceeding with its equally phony attempt to prove that a small number of people — those accused of FLQ membership — were responsible for the October crisis.

Some have already been tried on FLQ charges. Come Leblanc, a 22-year-old unemployed laborer, has been convicted of "promoting or advocating the aims of the FLQ," and was sentenced Feb. 15 to 10 months in jail. He is appealing his case. In a related case, Pierre Demers, charged with armed robbery to raise money for the FLQ between December 1969 and February 1970, was sentenced Feb. 10 to 12 years. His co-accused Robert Hudon and Marc-Andre Gagne are already serving 23 years and 25 years respectively on similar charges.

Meanwhile, Robert Lemieux, one of the Montreal Five and lawyer for many of the alleged FLQers, faces threats by the Quebec Bar Association, which controls the legal profession, to deprive him of his right to practise law. Lemieux is one of the very few lawyers who have been willing to defend persons accused of political crimes. As his fellow lawyer Pierre Cloutier told the court recently: "The lawyers of Quebec are afraid to get mixed up in these cases."

MICHEL CHARTRAND AND ROBERT LEMIEUX, now released on seditious conspiracy charges, still charged with support of FLQ.

Lemieux and Michel Chartrand have been released on bail. Larue-Langlois had already got bail. Although they face the same charges, Vallieres and Gagnon were refused bail on Feb. 19.

"I am not bitter," Michel Chartrand told an improvised press conference Feb. 16 as he was released in the provincial police headquarters. "But there are some guys who have stolen four months of my life, and they owe them to me!

"All these charges are a monumental farce. The government needs scapegoats to justify the measures it took. In four months, not one of the accused has yet been found guilty of having been a member of the FLQ. There are still about ten of them in the cells upstairs, including three young guys from Manitoba!"

Chartrand denounced the court's refusal to grant bail to Vallieres and Gagnon. "They can't make the population believe that two guys alone can make a revolution.

"A regime which imprisons its artists and poets begins to resemble the Greece of the Colonels."

Chartrand said that in his opinion the trade union movement should respond by stepping up its political action.

Quash LSO charges

Another charge arising out of the War Measures crisis was quashed in a Montreal court this month.

Manon Leger, 23-year-old candidate of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere for the Montreal mayoralty, and three of her supporters were arrested Oct. 24, the eve of the election, while they picketed the Black Watch armory and distributed election literature to passersby. They were charged under an obscure bylaw forbidding the wearing of partisan ribbons, colors or banners within a week of the election.

When the charge came up for trial Feb. 18, the judge threw it out.

labor Challenge #26 Mar 1971

Turn Trudeau's retreat into a rout

Resurgence of Quebec struggle inspires defense effort

by Dick Fidler

The quashing of the charge of seditious conspiracy against the Montreal Five is a big victory for the left and the Quebecois nationalist movement, and a major setback to the Liberal governments in Ottawa and Quebec City.

Through Mr. Justice Ouimet's ruling that the charges arising out of the War Measures crisis were too "vague and imprecise," Trudeau and Bourassa have in effect acknowledged that there was no conspiracy to overthrow the government, let alone an "apprehended insurrection." Ottawa's justifications for its massive assault on the Quebecois — involving hundreds of arrests, thousands of raids, and the suspension of democratic liberties throughout Canada — has been exposed as a complete lie.

Moreover, the courtroom victory of Feb. 12 testifies to the impact of the recovery in recent weeks of the mass labor and nationalist movement in Quebec, temporarily immobilized in the aftermath of October 16.

To fully appreciate the source and significance of these developments, it is useful to recall why Trudeau invoked the War Measures Act. There were essentially two purposes.

First, an immediate aim of the state of emergency was to give the central government the immense powers it needed to impose and adhere to its "no-concessions" policy toward the FLQ kidnappers' demands. By suspending all civil liberties with one gargantuan blow, jailing leading nationalist activists, the Trudeau government stalled the development of any organized movement in support of the FLQ demands. At the same time Ottawa left the kidnappers a way out through its offer of a flight to exile in Cuba.

This strategy was largely successful. While it resulted in the death of Pierre Laporte, it did lead to the delivery of James Cross without any concession to the FLQ demands. Typical of official reaction was the boast of Quebec's minister of financial institutions, William Tetley, an anglophone in the Bourassa cabinet: "We have been one of the first governments in the world to say no to terrorists...From now on, when governments are subjected to blackmail, they will have a precedent to guide them."

Whatever difficulty there was in actually finding the kidnappers under the War Measures powers simply served to buttress the argument for beefing up the police forces.

A second, more fundamental purpose in invoking the emergency powers, however, was to take advantage of the political confusion and disarray provoked by the kidnappings to move against the nationalist left. Through selective arrests and legal frameups, the authorities hoped to whip up an atmosphere of fear and intimidation, to stem the growing radicalization. A prime target was FRAP, the working class nationalist political formation which, if successful in the Montreal civic elections, threatened to spark similar formations at the national (Quebec) level.

Ottawa's assumption of emergency powers was also intended as a salutory warning to bourgeois independentists like Rene Levesque and Jacques Parizeau of the Parti Quebecois that the federal government would be quick to intervene if the nationalist movement got "out of hand."

As the immediate crisis subsided with the capture of the kidnap suspects, the focus of the ruling class's campaign shifted to the political trials. Through frameup charges of "FLQ" membership and seditious conspiracy the crisis atmosphere was to be sustained, preparing the way for permanent repressive legislation to replace the Public Order Act which expires at the end of April. Such legislation — most likely a cross between the Public Order Act and the infamous section 98 of the old Criminal Code (used to outlaw the Communist party), would then be available for use at will in the future.

Virtually the entire Canadian ruling class was committed to this perspective. While the occasional newspaper editorial expressed some unease over this or that procedure, not one dissenting voice was raised against the political trials themselves. The bourgeoisie's unanimity suggests a highly developed consensus that the repression of Quebec is the price of continued capitalist rule in Canada.

In recent weeks, however, this strategy of repression has suffered some hard blows. Far from sustaining a virtual reign of terror against the mass movement, the trials have turned into a major political embarrassment for the Trudeau and Bourassa governments. The state's evidence in the trials of alleged FLQers has been revealed as nothing more than scribblings in schoolboy notebooks, or Marxist classics available in any good Montreal bookstore.

The Montreal Five in particular succeeded in using their trial to turn the tables on their accusers, exposing, within the limitations of their own politics, the nature of bourgeois justice and bourgeois politics in this country.

Even Paul Rose, through his consistent refusal to be made the scapegoat for the October crisis, has become something of a hero to many Quebec youth.

The authorities have responded by attempting to silence the defendants — contempt of court convictions, banning Rose from the courtroom, etc.

The defendants' conduct has encouraged and assisted the development of massive political opposition to the trials outside the courtroom.

The Quebec left is rebuilding around a

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defense movement that has organized militant mass demonstrations demanding the government free all political prisoners and drop the charges. Students and sections of the trade union movement have been drawn into these organized protests, the first united demonstrations of the left since the electoral upsurge of the Parti Quebecois took mass protest actions off the streets.

Another important factor in the government's retreat is the remarkable recovery of the labor movement. In recent weeks the Montreal teachers have occupied the school commission offices and some schools in their rotating strikes against government attempts to control their job conditions and freeze or lower their wages.

The mass demonstrations against closure of the Sogefor complex at Mont-Laurier, the occupation of the federal manpower retraining center in Montreal — even the occupations of trade union offices in Montreal and Quebec City by militants protesting inadequate leadership! — indicate the profound ferment in broad layers of the Quebec working class.

Growing demands that French be made the universal language of work — as in the General Motors strike at Ste-Therese — hit at the very basis of Quebec's oppression, its domination by foreign capital.

Increasing popular discontent with the Bourassa government was registered in the Chambly by-election where the Parti Quebecois increased its vote, to 34 percent.

Clearly the main forces of the mass movement, far from being intimidated by the repression, have recovered and are continuing to radicalize. There is every indication that the October crisis increased the class polarization in Quebec society, at the same time as it has considerably strengthened independentist sentiment among the Quebecois workers.

See page 6

Left mood in Alta. NDP

EDMONTON — The strong left wing mood among the 400 delegates at the Alberta NDP convention, held here Feb. 5-7, was reflected in several of the key resolutions adopted.

Delegates adopted a strong platform on women's liberation, including demands for 24-hour community-controlled child care centers, free abortion on demand, birth control information and contraceptives to be made freely available regardless of age, abolition of laws that discriminate against women, and a program to encourage women workers not only to organize, but to organize as women.

An emergency resolution on unemployment, introduced by the party executive and adopted unanimously, calls for a ban on overtime and a reduction in the work week to 35 hours, an increase in unemployment insurance benefits to $100 a week, and a massive increase in public works projects — education, hospital and health services — including construction of at least 10,000 units of public housing in the next two years.

The convention voted to adjourn to participate in a demonstration against the U.S. invasion of Laos organized by the Edmonton Committee to End the War in Vietnam. But the majority of delegates, including members of the left-wing Waffle caucus, failed to show up, however.

The biggest weakness of the convention was its failure to even discuss the question of Quebec self-determination. Of the five candidates for the federal NDP leadership, only Ed Broadbent dealt with Quebec, and he took a federalist position.

A major factor in the convention's left mood was the existence of the Waffle group, which caucused during the convention and ran a partial slate of candidates for the executive. The Waffle was elected to three executive positions and two of the five provincial council seats. Waffle resolutions won the support of up to 40 percent of the delegates.

The Waffle pushed for a resolution calling for public ownership of all energy resources — a big question in this province dominated by the oil and gas monopolies. The executive countered with a proposal to nationalize **future** exploitations, leaving present oil reserves in private hands. Nationalization of the existing industry, the leadership argued, would "cost too much."

Waffle member Ken Novakowski replied: "We cannot ignore the past if we are to gain control of the future, and the only way to gain control without buying back is to nationalize."

The resolution adopted by the convention called for nationalization of public utilities, pipelines, large coal-exporting interests, and development of the Athabasca oil sands as a Crown corporation.

W. Brown.

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Lewis booed on Quebec

SASKATOON — A public meeting to hear the five contenders for the federal NDP leadership here on Feb. 5 erupted into a confrontation on Quebec self-determination between deputy leader and candidate David Lewis and the left-wing Waffle group, which is running Jim Laxer for leader.

Taking advantage of Laxer's absence — he had missed a plane connection — David Lewis launched into a sharp attack on those in the party who would even "contemplate" the separation of Quebec from Canada. Any suggestion that Quebec should have the right to national self-determination, Lewis argued in a highly emotional statement, "is divisive and disruptive." They "do a great disservice to our party."

Candidates Laxer and John Harney arrived late. Following their 10-minute presentations which scarcely mentioned Quebec, Don Mitchell, a leading Waffle spokesman, rose to demand the meeting be extended to allow Laxer to reply to Lewis's slanders. Chairman Roy Romanow, a Saskatoon MLA, instead announced adjournment. But the resulting protest from the audience of 400 forced him to allow continued discussion on the Quebec issue.

Laxer clearly dissociated himself from any position which entailed an alliance between the Parti Quebecois and the NDP in Quebec. "The PQ is not a socialist party," he said. Pointing to the economic exploitation and national oppression faced by Quebec working people as the roots of the independence movement, Laxer argued that the right to self-determination for Quebec must be recognized. "I'm not calling for Quebec to become independent," he explained, "but the people of Quebec should have the democratic right to decide."

Lewis was roundly booed when he rose again. "There aren't two nations in Canada now," he claimed. "The subject is one hypocrisy. We should be talking only about unity, not of breaking up. I don't want a Biafra in Canada."

Earlier, candidate Ed Broadbent, MP, had criticized the NDP parliamentary caucus for its failure to vote in principle against the Public Order Act. "We consulted the people right across Canada and people in our own party as to where we stood," Broadbent said.

Howard Brown.

cross country with the NDP

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Quebec NDP backs self-determination

MONTREAL — The Quebec NDP convention Feb. 20-21 voted 65-35 to present a resolution to the federal party's convention in April recognizing Quebec's "absolute right to self-determination, that is, to decide for itself the degree of sovereignty which suits it in all fields." The resolution closely resembles the position of the Waffle group.

The convention also voted, with only 10 percent opposed, to withdraw the NDP from the "provincial" (national) scene, confining its role to federal politics.

Members of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere criticized the proposed withdrawal, pointing out that it was motivated in large part by the desire to leave the provincial field clear for the bourgeois Parti Quebecois. The LSO called for new initiatives to build a mass working-class party in Quebec.

Another resolution called for an independent constitution for the Quebec branch. The party would continue to collaborate with the federal NDP "in all which does not come into conflict with" the Quebec NDP's principles.

At an evening session to hear the federal leadership candidates, delegates gave a cool reception to deputy leader David Lewis who scolded them for describing Quebec as a nation. Jim Laxer of the Waffle group was warmly applauded.

Raymond Laliberte, former president of the Quebec teachers union, was elected president to succeed Roland Morin.

DAVID LEWIS denounces Waffle manifesto at 1969 federal convention.

labor Challenge #27 Mar 1971

Why Atlantic provinces stay poor

Profits and regional poverty

by Terry Hamilton-Smith

In 1864 politicians from the Maritime provinces met in Charlottetown, P.E.I. to discuss Maritime union. As the uninvited delegates from Canada showed up the topic changed to the unification of the whole country. One hundred and three years of Confederation later, the Maritime politicians are at it again.

In December the premiers of the three Maritime provinces met in Charlottetown to discuss the government-sponsored Report on Maritime Union, published recently. This was followed by a second meeting in Halifax last month.

A month previously another government-sponsored body, the Atlantic Provinces Economic Council, brought down its fourth annual review, The Atlantic Economy.

Both works take as their starting point the grinding poverty, massive unemployment and economic backwardness of the Atlantic region relative to the rest of Canada. They represent the frankest attempt by ruling-class spokesmen to come to grips with this persistent phenomenon which they politely term "economic disparity."

How 'backward regions' are born

The facts they present are eloquent enough. The Atlantic Economy shows that per capita income in the Atlantic provinces is only 70 percent of Canada's. It admits that combined underemployment and unemployment in the region is over 25 percent. It admits that over 150,000 people have emigrated from the Atlantic provinces over the last decade.

Most significantly, the report shows that the entire government policy of regional economic development practised over the last ten years has had virtually no effect. This is told bluntly enough to have generated a flurry of criticism in the capitalist press when the report was released.

Yet the recommendations of The Atlantic Economy are not controversial in the least. None of its recommendations, policies or programs question the capitalist system itself. Thus they fail to reach any understanding of the real nature of regional underdevelopment.

Regional economic disparity is an inevitable result of capitalism, produced by the consistent tendency of capital to move to the regions of highest profit. Capital and industry become concentrated in a few leading financial centers where the class struggle takes on its earliest and most fully developed forms. The outlying regions make up a super-exploited periphery that provides a huge pool of cheap surplus labor for the growing industrial centers.

Profits flow from Atlantic poverty

The ruling class is not talking about regional disparity out of humanitarian motives. A little talk is always a useful smokescreen to blow in front of those vast territories where capitalism has only deepened relative social and economic stagnation.

And even poverty can be rationalized, made more useful to the system. The cheap, abundant labor of the Atlantic provinces represents a great potential source of additional profit. Then, too, policies must be specially tailored to maintain the demobilization of the local working class, and defuse the pending national upsurge of the oppressed Acadian minority.

In the past few years the ruling class has been able increasingly to take advantage of the regional stagnation that exists in the Atlantic provinces. As union organization and wages have improved in the main industrial centers, the prospect of paying low wages to the unorganized workers of the Atlantic provinces has become very attractive to many capitalists. As the profit to be made off the wage differential exceeded that lost on high transportation costs they began to locate industries in the region.

The Atlantic Economy reports that new capital investment in the Atlantic region increased faster than in Canada as a whole during the last ten years. Most of the increase was in manufacturing and utilities, where the annual level of new investment tripled over the decade. This process has led to significant growth in oil refining, electronics, auto manufacturing, chemicals and other advanced areas.

Income gap still widening

The new industrialization has led to a few more jobs and slightly lower unemployment. The weakness is that it cannot lead to much higher wages since the profits of the new industries are based mainly on the regional wage disparity in the first place. Figures in The Atlantic Economy show that over the last decade the difference in personal income per capita between Canada and the Atlantic provinces actually increased from $519 to $880.

At the same time as the various government agencies are writing for public consumption about bettering the lives of the people of the Atlantic region with industrial development, they are advertising in the business media the low wages and general weakness of the local working class.

In its logical conclusions the reactionary aims of "regional economic expansion" are very clear. For the new industrialization to continue the disparity in wages must be maintained.

As part of its policy of regional development the ruling class must resist the attempts of workers to improve their bargaining power. In the last decade over 40 percent of the strikes in New Brunswick have been over union recognition or the

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first bargaining agreement. When the struggles have been decisive the government has stepped in openly on the side of the corporations using the RCMP, the courts and attempts to introduce company unions. In just this way the Newfoundland government broke the International Woodworkers organizing drive in 1959. The Nova Scotia government tried to follow a similar strategy in last years fishermen's strike. But the militant solidarity walkouts touched off by this struggle last summer gave a hint of the potential power of working class response.

Report on Maritime Union carries through the economic policy of the ruling class on a political level. Different standards of labor and business law and multitudes of entrenched local interests mean inefficiency and consequently lower profits for the larger capitalists. So the report suggests "reducing the cost and the complexity of doing business across the three relatively small provinces" through political unification, which would provide "uniformity of legislation. . .to ensure freedom of movement of labor, capital and enterprise among the three provinces."

Political union threat to Acadians

The proposal of Maritime union is simply part of a trend towards political centralization that has appeared in the last decade. For example, in 1966 the provincial government of New Brunswick put through municipal "reforms" that took over most financial and administrative powers from county and city governments.

In the short term the more local capitalist interests stand to suffer. But these developments are completely consistent with the long-term interests of the ruling class as a whole.

One of the most important reasons why the ruling class needs Maritime union is hardly discussed in the report. The Acadian nation consists of some 350,000 people mainly concentrated in the northeast half of New Brunswick. In the last few years an active, explicitly nationalistic Acadian student movement has developed and has pressured the New Brunswick government into making some token gestures towards the right to the use of the French language in the schools and courts. The penetration of this emerging national consciousness into the ranks of the growing Acadian working class could result in a national struggle of truly revolutionary dimensions. But as a much smaller minority in a new province dominated by the English-speaking businessmen and politicians of St. John and Halifax, the demands of the Acadians could be more easily ignored.

The strategy of the capitalists as outlined in The Atlantic Economy and Report on Maritime Union poses a real challenge to the working class, Acadian and revolutionary movements in the region.

The NDP and the unions have generally bought the myth that the form of "industrial development" proposed by the ruling class will benefit the working people of the Atlantic region. For example, building trade unions in St. John, New Brunswick recently signed a no-strike pledge on government construction, justifying the pledge by saying "we had to have it here if we are going to attract new industry."

Another source of weakness is that important elements of the Acadian petty bourgeoisie are ready to sell their national identity for the small rewards to be had from English-speaking capital. Louis Robichaud, the first elected Acadian premier of New Brunswick, was the main initiator of the Maritime union study. F.J. Arsenault, one of the authors of report on Maritime Union, is the past secretary of the National Society of Acadians.

It must be clearly understood that regional economic disparity is a product of the capitalist system and will only be aggravated by the kind of economic planning offered by the Liberal or Conservative governments. Luring private industry into the region with government handouts will not provide the job security and wages that the Atlantic working class needs. A step in the right direction would be to take over the big monopolies that are sucking profits out of the Atlantic provinces and put them under public ownership.

Lessons of Sydney Steel takeover

The successful operation of the Sydney Steel Corporation under public ownership is an example of what should happen to every major industry in the region. Nationalization not only saved a supposedly bankrupt enterprise but restored it to profitable operation. With the monopolies under public ownership and workers control, the working class can undertake genuine economic planning on a regional basis to develop the Atlantic economy in its own interests.

To make this approach a reality it is necessary to get rid of the Liberal and Conservative governments. As the political party of labor, only the NDP can form a government that will dare to make the smallest move against the corporations that have a stranglehold on the Atlantic region. The fact that the New Brunswick NDP has recently come out for public ownership of the huge pulp and paper industry and that the Nova Scotia NDP for the first time elected two MLAs largely through its support of last year's fishermen's strike show that the NDP is beginning to become aware of its historical responsibilities.

Within the context of a demand for an NDP government and widespread public ownership the labor movement must still carry on its economic struggle. In the

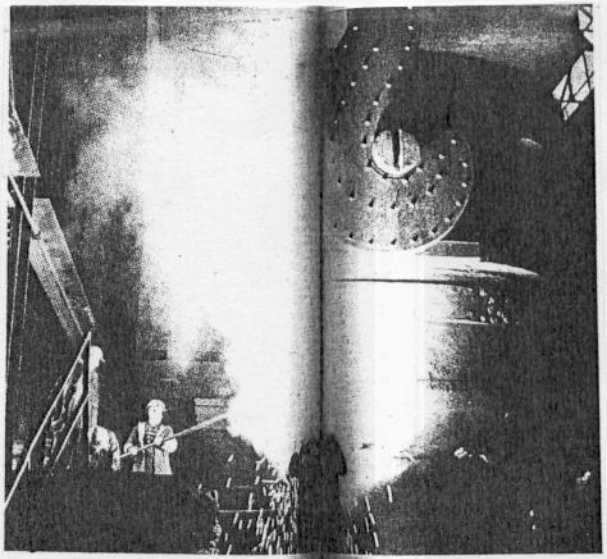
drive towards full employment the demand for 30 hours work for 40 hours pay could spread the work around by creating most of the additional jobs needed and go a long way to wiping out unemployment in the region. The 30 percent wage disparity can be directly attacked by demanding parity with workers in the rest of Canada. The high cost of living and rate of inflation in the Atlantic region can be countered by demanding automatic pay raises equal to the increases in the cost of living.

Finally, the working class movement must not fall into the ruling class policies of suppression of the Acadian national movement. The NDP must recognize the complete right to self-determination of the Acadian nation and more specifically the right of Acadians to schools, courts in French; in short to conduct all their own affairs in the French language.

The next few years in the Atlantic provinces will see a crucial turning point in the struggle against the ruling class. With mutual understanding and solidarity in action of the Acadian, working class and revolutionary movements the struggle can and will be successful.

photo from The Highlander

EXODUS. Thousands of people leave [illegible] each year in search of jobs in "Upper Canada" and U.S. Deserted [illegible] at Louisbourg, N.S. bears stark testimony to extent of emigration.



SAVED BY PUBLIC OWNERSHIP. Giant [illegible] steel plant, slated to be shut down as "bankrupt" in 1967, has been saved and is paying basis through nationalization. Public ownership must now be extended to operations which suck the profits out of the Atlantic region.

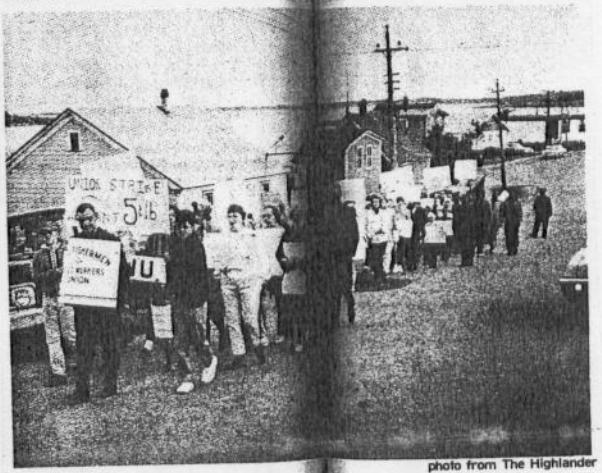


photo from The Highlander

ORGANIZING. Many workers, however [illegible] to fight low wage rates. Above, fishermen and families demonstrate dur[illegible]ggle that shook Nova Scotia labor movement. Forty percent of strikes are [illegible]nize.

Will these men block U.S. takeover?

Canadian imperialism and anti-imperialism, pages 6-7

Claude Ryan, Jack McClelland, Walter Gordon at press conference to launch Committee for an Independent Canada.

labor Challenge

vol. 2, No. 5 (27) March 15, 1971 15 cents

Labor mobilizes against a closure

page 3

Stop new frameup trials!

MICHEL CHARTRAND, a leading defendant in political trials, will be speaking in cities across Canada this month. See page 12. At lower right is co-defendant Robert Lemieux.

by The Editors

While Trudeau was cavorting on the ski slopes of western Canada with his bride, government solicitors in Montreal were drawing up new frameup charges of seditious conspiracy against three of the leading defendants in the political trials.

On March 10, Pierre Vallières, Charles Gagnon and Jacques Larue-Langlois were once again hauled into court to face trial on charges similar to those against the Montreal Five that the judge threw out a month ago.

In addition, Vallières was hit with an incredible ten charges of "inciting to kidnap" three federal and provincial cabinet ministers and "inciting to murder" three judges and a lawyer.

The new accusations bear all the marks of the same phony campaign that the Trudeau and Bourassa governments have been trying to sustain against these leading Quebec independentists since the War Measures Act was invoked.

According to Robert Lemieux, the defense lawyer who also faces trumped-up charges of "FLQ" membership, the Crown's "evidence" in the new sedition cases consists of letters, speeches, newspaper articles and communiques of the Vallières-Gagnon Defense Committee which Larue-Langlois headed a year ago. (The committee gave rise to the present Movement for the Defense of Quebec Political Prisoners.) Most of this material has been public information for many months.

When the Montreal Five — the present accused, plus Lemieux and labor leader Michel Chartrand — succeeded in forcing withdrawal of the original seditious conspiracy charges as "too vague and imprecise," they exposed the government's total inability to back up its claim of an "apprehended insurrection" in Quebec last

From top, Pierre Vallieres, Charles Gagnon, Jacques Larue-Langlois.

October. The charges of "inciting" to kidnap and murder — what constitutes an "incitement," anyway? — look very similar.

These new charges show that Trudeau and his cohorts are determined to continue the repression.

The movement against the politcal trials and the repression in Quebec must take this new attack as the signal to redouble its efforts across the country to expose the reactionary political motives behind Ottawa's action.

FREE VALLIERES, GAGNON, LARUE-LANGLOIS, AND ALL THE POLITICAL PRISONERS!

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Actions at Rose trial expose sexist laws

The Quebec political trials are exposing blatant legal discrimination against women.

When Lise Balcer, accused of membership in the FLQ, was called to testify at the trial of Paul Rose Feb. 22, she refused. Pointing to the 12-man jury — women are not eligible for jury duty in Quebec — Balcer declared:

"As a woman I cannot accept this situation. If you won't recognize women as jurors, how can you recognize them as witnesses. . .I swore to tell the truth and that's what I'm doing. Discrimination has lasted too long in Quebec. It's my duty. I'm obliged to refuse to testify."

The judge cited her for contempt.

When Balcer appeared for sentencing March 1, she protested further: "It only took two hours to pass the War Measures Act. What should it take an eternity to adopt a measure affecting half the population of Quebec?"

At that point, seven women in the audience left their seats and rushed into the jury box, chanting "discrimination." They were all sentenced on the spot to a month in prison, except for one who was given another month for crying "They're raping us again."

This bold "commando action" by the seven women has dramatically publicized the sexist nature of Canadian laws. The Royal Commission on the Status of Women found that only Nova Scotia, British Columbia and the far North treat women the same as men for jury service. Quebec and Newfoundland exclude them altogether and the other provinces limit their participation in various ways. These laws perpetuate the myth that women are inferior and irresponsible. And they are only one aspect of a legal system which is totally dominated by men. A few days after the "courtroom commando" action, it was revealed that three women at Tanguay women's prison in Montreal, two of them accused FLQers, were sent to the "hole" for an unspecified period for having protesting the "humiliating" conditions of women political prisoners — such as having access to toilets only once an hour. At last report, they were on a hunger strike.

Michel Chartrand on Canada-wide tour

Michel Chartrand, leading defendant in the Quebec political trials, will be speaking at public meetings across Canada this month. His tour will be the first major coordinated action by the growing movement in English Canada against the repression in Quebec.

Chartrand is president of the Montreal Central Council of the Confederation of National Trade Unions, and former leader of the Parti Socialiste du Quebec and its predecessor, the Quebec CCF.

A colorful orator, he will be speaking on the War Measures crisis and the meaning of the political trials. Chartrand and four other political prisoners recently scored a big victory for the movement against the repression when the government was forced to drop charges of seditious conspiracy against them. He still faces charges of memberhip in the outlawed FLQ, under Trudeau's dictatorial Public Order Act.

A major objective of Michel Chartrand's tour is to raise money for the defense of the political prisoners.

His itinerary is:

March 11 — Toronto
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14, 15 — Edmonton
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A later trip to Ottawa is also projected.

In Waterloo, Chartrand's visit will be sponsored by the Committee for a Commission of Inquiry into the War Measures Act. His meeting in Toronto Mar. 19 will also feature Robert Lemieux, the defense lawyer who is also a leading defendant in the Montreal trials.

Michel Chartrand's tour is being coordinated by the Emergency Committee to Defend Political Rights in Quebec. The committee may be contacted at P.O. Box 58. Station M. Toronto 21.

Canada, exploited by U.S. capital, itself an imperialist power
'Independent Canada' group aims to divert anti-U.S. feeling

by Ross Dowson

The following article is based on a speech delivered by Ross Dowson, executive secretary of the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière. on Feb. 1 at the University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon. One of a series on Canadian nationalism, it had been preceded by an address by Mel Hurtig well-known Edmonton Liberal and pubhcist, on behalf of the Committee for an Independent Canada.

The U.S. takeover of the commanding heights of the Canadian economy has become in the past several months the most talked-about question in Canadian cultural and political life.

Only a short while ago, Ontario Premier Robarts peremptorily declared it to be a phony issue, and was joined by a key cabinet minister who denounced those expressing concern over this matter as a pack of yahoos and economic illiterates.

But in the current scramble for Mr. Robart's mantle, his cabinet ministers are unanimous in their agreement that foreign ownership is the number one issue. It has been been established as a subject worthy a Gallup poll. And now the Committee for an Independent Canada, headed by former Liberal Finance Minister Walter Gordon, the country's most prominent publisher, J.G. McClelland, and the editor of *(Montreal daily) Le Devoir,* Claude Ryan, is stumping Western Canada's universities.

The scope-of the takeovers of Canadian industrial and financial institutions is so vast and is continuing at such an accelerating pace that it can no longer be ignored.

When the current phasing out and closures by U.S. corporations of Canadian operations that no longer profitably fit into their conglomerate structure adds to the already scandalous and growing ranks of unemployed across Canada; and when the United Church sells out Ryerson Press thereby placing the publication of English-Canadian school texts in the hands of the most blatantly racist, imperialist war-mongering U.S. textbook publishers – what all this means can no longer be shoved aside.

There is now such a flood of factual and statistical data on the U.S capitalist takeover of Canadian natural resources and industrial plant that I will not take up any of the limited time at my disposal to go over it or attempt to add anything new – all the more that Mr. Hurtig no doubt dealt with this in some scope.

There is one important aspect of the whole question, however, that NDP leader T. C. Douglas has recently brought to our attention. Not only are an increasing number of Canadian-owned plants being taken over by U.S. corporations but despite the latter's great accumulated wealth they are taking them over with less and less of their own

funds and increasingly with funds actually raised here in Canada. According to Douglas, some 94 percent of the investment by US subsidiaries in Canada is effected with Canadian funds.

This has now been affirmed by a survey made by a U.S. government economist and published in the November issue of a U.S. Department of Commerce publication, *Survey of Current Business*

This survey reveals that U.S. Companies operating m Canada in 1968 actually received more Canadian funds than they invested. U.S.-owned companies operating m Canada in mining, smelting, petroleum, and manufacturing industries had $2.6 billion available to them in 1968 – $1.9 billion from Canadian sources. Their total investment in that year amounted to $1.4 billion with only $127 million of it coming from the parent company in the U.S. Or other U.S. financial institutions.

Thus we have U.S. capital playing the most cynical, piratical role, the classical imperialist role, in relations to Canada. It is buying up Canada with Canada's own accumulated wealth!

Perhaps that is not so new — after all why should imperialism conduct itself in any way differently with Canada than it does with the so-called underdeveloped sectors of the globe?

What is new with regard to the whole matter of the U.S. takeover of the Canadian economy is this: the debate has moved off the plane of viewing with alarm onto the plane of what is to be done about it!

Even the Progressive Conservatives who up until recently have said that the U.S. corporate takeovers are a non-issue are now talking solutions. Their policy adds up to a strengthening of Canadian capitalism: more tax incentives to Canadian investors in Canadian companies, and more government loans and grants to Canadian firms – open up the public treasury.

This policy, even were it to be extended as the Tories want, has done nothing to even slow down, let alone stop the US corporate takeover.

The Canadian capitalist class has shown not the slightest tendency to resist. On the contrary, in its own insatiable search for profits it has even sought out takeover bids, either to become part of the U.S. corporate structure or to invest elsewhere on even more profitable terms. Since it doesn't have the means to resist it seeks the best terms and completely identifies its future with the long range interests of U.S. corporate power.

As for the Liberals – they are in power in Ottawa and have only now, after more than seven years of talking about it, presented the legislation for the Canada Development Corporation.

Finance Minister Benson has clearly defined what the CDC is not. It will not aim at buying back companies that have already been taken over. And it will not be a last resort buyer to block a Canadian company from being taken over.

So while the bill says that it is to help develop and maintain Canadian control, that is just so much facade. To sustain the facade the shares of this profit-oriented investment company can only be sold to Canadians, with no individual having more than 3 percent of outstanding shares.

Mr. Benson has vigorously denied that the Corporation has anything to do with the struggle against what he calls the multinational corporation (a term now being used to hide the obvious fact that the takeovers are almost entirely U.S., the imperialist character of which is becoming ever more clearly understood) but is on the contrary to function as an aid to help make Canadian companies themselves into multinational (imperialist?) corporations.

How CDC will play this role is not yet clear but one thing about CDC is very clear. It is also designed to achieve what the Canadian capitalist class have sought for many years — to remove from public ownership the highly successful Polymer Corporation which will be taken over by CDC and placed in the hands of the government-appointed big business heads who will control CDC.

Walter Gordon has expressed his pleasure that Ottawa has at long last introduced the Canada Development Corporation with which his name has been associated for so many years.

In the meantime the committee of which he is honorary chairman, the Committee for an Independent Canada, through speaking tours by Mr. Gordon and such well-known associates as J.G. McClelland, Mel Hurtig and Professor Abraham Rotstein is carrying on a great flurry of widely publicized activities around the question of U.S. takeovers.

This committee, with its list of eminent and respectable sponsors, has been dubbed by one punster the Company of Old Canadians. Its declared aim is to sign up 100,000 Canadians behind it for the somewhat vague purpose of helping "governments move in certain directions somewhat faster," and "to encourage greater Canadian participation in the autonomous growth of the country."

Its real aim, despite what some of its individual sponsors may hope to achieve, is to divert and to defuse the rising opposition to U.S. corporate takeovers which has revealed a strong tendency to develop along anti-Canadian capitalist and pro-socialist lines.

The committee boasts of the broad spectrum of Liberal, Tory. and unfortunately also NDP sponsors — Bruce Lawson, a former editor of the Ontario NDP press and NDP and Steelworkers leader Eamon Park. Through its seduction of Lawson and Park in particular, the committee hopes to remove the whole issue from the political arena, to make it a non-party issue, to deprive the NDP of the issue. Specifically it is aimed against the

left-wing Waffle around Melville Watkins, which has correctly seized the challenge and responded that there can be no independent Canada that is not socialist.

Professor Rotstein reveals this aim very clearly in his review of one of the many books now appearing on the question. He of course puts it in personal, not political terms. After noting that "Mel Watkins emerged out of the vacuum left by the .departure of Gordon from the political scene" and has "entered the imagination of the country" as the debate moves into the Seventies, he closes, "What we don't need is a repetition of the Sixties with Watkins replacing Gordon."

Within the broad function of the Committee for an Independent Canada the various individuals have their own purposes in supporting it. *(The French-language Montreal daily) Le Devoir* editor Claude Ryan, an opponent of the rising independentist forces in Quebec, has expressed the hope that the committee will be a rational alternative to Quebec separatism. "The federalist in Quebec," he notes, "has to do something. He can't sit around all the time answering his opponents. He must do something constructive."

A persistently high priority in Mr. Gordon's many speeches is his opposition to public ownership and his manipulation of anti-U.S. sentiments to attack the unity that exists between Canadian and U.S. trade unionists organized in international unions. Mr. Gordon has persistently opposed wage parity between U.S. And Canadian workers. He attempts to present it as nothing but a plot of top U.S. Union leaders to deprive Canadian industrialists of the better competitive position that lower wages would put them in, and which Canadian workers should of course accept, in "the national interest."

There are two questions that are consistently missing in the debate on U.S. ownership. They are consciously hidden by such elements as constitute the Committee for an Independent Canada because of the obvious conclusions that flow from them, and neglected by many on the left at the cost of not rounding out their argument and not pulling together all the forces that belong on their side.

Socialism—the key to independence

Not only are Canadian business heads a developed class with interests of their own completely separate from and in conflict with the interest of the workers. They are imperialist, if on a more modest scale, nonetheless in the same sense as the U.S. capitalist class. The Anglo-Canadian capitalist class who control the Canadian state apparatus and share with U.S. capitalism in the exploitation of the northern sector of the North American continent possess an internal colony in Quebec and participate with the U.S. in the imperialist exploitation of the West Indies and Latin America.

Thus Canada is both exploited and an exploiter. Energy Minister J.J. Greene put it this way a few days ago in justifying what he said was a policy of "sitting out" but what was in reality sitting on the side of the big oil corporations in their dispute with the major oil producers in the Middle East. "As so often in Canadian affairs," he said, "we are on both sides at the same time."

When Canadian "nationalists" protest the exploitation and cultural genocide of Canada by the U.S., they fail to define the enemy (capitalism) a failure which always makes it difficult to fight him *(Greene –ed.)* They overlook key allies in the struggle if they do not identify with the struggle for an independent Quebec and the anti- imperialist struggle of the West Indians and Latin Americans.

Mr. Gordon himself was linked, through his accountants' firm, with the largest single imperialist investment in Latin America, Brascan (formerly Brazilian Light and Power), a Canadian-controlled corporation. The present Minister of External Affairs Mitchell Sharp was for many years on the Brascan board of directors.

The Royal Bank of Canada, which plays a dominating role in the West Indies economy, is larger than any single bank in Germany or Japan and would rank second in Britain, and seventh in the U.S. The Canadian Pacific Railway is bigger than Mitsubishi, Krupp or Hawker-Siddeley.

The rising opposition to the U.S. takeover of Canada not accidentally finds its political expression in the labor party formation, the NDP, and not accidentally in the NDP's left wing.

The only independent Canada, independent of U.S. imperialism, is a socialist Canada. To put that in meaningful terms today, that can mobilize large layers of the population into action in order to win it, is to demand full production, to demand jobs. Open up the Saskatchewan potash mines. Repeal the Saskatchewan Liberal government's price-fixing at the behest of the giant U.S. chemical corporations and sell the potash through the cooperatives at cost to the farmers. Stop the plant closures, the phasing out of Canadian plants, on the decision of their profitability to U.S. corporate heads. Place them under public ownership, retool them if necessary, to produce needed goods, under the control of the workers.

(end)

labor Challenge #27 Mar 1971

'Public order' act substitute looms

"Next Question Please"

by Robert Dumont

MARCH 7 — Despite the obvious failure to sustain its charges in the political trials arising out of the War Measures crisis, the Trudeau government appears to be pressing ahead with plans to introduce permanent repressive laws to replace the Public Order Act.

Of the 62 persons charged under the present Act, 40 are still awaiting trial on charges relating to alleged membership in or support of the outlawed FLQ. Only three cases have been disposed of by the courts — and not one of these was found guilty of actual membership in the FLQ. All other convictions have been for procedural "offenses" — eleven of the accused have been found guilty on 19 charges of contempt of court.

Yet Ottawa has turned a deaf ear to growing demands from even powerful voices in the ruling class for repeal of the Public Order Act. Trudeau is on record as promising new legislation before the Act expires at the end of April. And when executives of the Canadian Labor Congress last week questioned the government's claim of an apprehended insurrection in October noting that intensive police searches had turned up only 33 firearms and 22 other weapons, Trudeau replied with the fatuous comment: "That only proves that we haven't found the rest."

Examing government statements, the Globe and Mail concluded editorially March 4, "It would seem. . .to be folly to assume that permanent legislation will not be forthcoming sometime in the next seven weeks."

Other measures are in store, too. Defense Minister Macdonald announced March 2 that the training and equipment of the reserve armed forces will be upgraded to make them more effective in helping regular forces and police to deal with future cases of "civil disorder."

Despite the quashing of seditious conspiracy charges against the Montreal Five, the government is still trying to frame them for alleged support of or membership in the FLQ.

Appearing in court March 1, labor leader Michel Chartrand, defense lawyer Robert Lemieux, and Jacques Larue-Langlois were held over for trial to May 3.

Trial dates for Pierre Vallieres and Charles Gagnon, who remain in prison, were set for April 26.

Police continue to make arrests under the Public Order Act. Two high school students picked up Feb. 26 have been charged with FLQ membership. And on March 1, the cops raided the printshop of Jean Roy, a candidate for FRAP in the Montreal elections, arresting seven persons including two Vietnamese clients who were present in the shop. They were released without charge 24 hours later. Roy wondered aloud whether the raid — allegedly to look for "molotov cocktails" — was another attempt to intimidate supporters of FRAP which is holding its convention this weekend.

What lies behind Trudeau's and Bourassa's continued attempts to sustain their discredited accusations? Part of the answer was suggested by Nicole Dreyfus, a leading French lawyer and observer at the aborted trial of the Montreal Five. In her report to the International Association of Democratic Jurists, Dreyfus argues that Lemieux has been singled out because he has done more than any other lawyer in Quebec to defend the rights of political prisoners. She adds: "the charge against Michel Chartrand at the very time when Quebec trade unions are preoccupied with a number of social problems, notably an increase in unemployment, is without doubt no accident."

Both Dreyfus and Roger Lallemand, who observed the trials for the International Federation of the League of the Rights of Man, have denounced the Public Order Act and the refusal of the courts to grant bail to Vallières and Gagnon.

Another related motivation for the political trials was revealed by the $300-a-day prosecutor when he argued that Come Leblanc, a 22-year old unemployed laborer convicted of "advocating the aims and principles of the FLQ," should be given an exemplary sentence. "In providing a penalty of five years for this offense, the legislator wanted to make young people understand that the FLQ is not a sport. He wanted to show those youths who occupy themselves with such activities instead of studying or working, the serious consequences of their acts."

But there is plenty of evidence to indicate that the youth of Quebec, far from being intimidated by the victimization of the political prisoners, are developing a deeper understanding and hatred of the repressive nature of both the Ottawa and Quebec governments — and are drawing the necessary conclusions. Trudeau's troubles in Quebec are only beginning.

labor Challenge #27 Mar 1971

Bosses given access to Quebec cops' files

by Francine Emard

MONTREAL — Are the police allowing employers to use the dossiers they collected under the War Measures? That's what Penny Simpson, a member of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, is asking, after her experience looking for a job.

It was bad enough that Simpson was asked to resign her hundred-dollar-a-week job just because she was held for six days, without being charged, under the War Measures Act. It was even worse that she had some difficulty in getting a written recommendation from the company.

In applying for a typical $72-a-week typing job, however, the whole scandal came out.

She answered very frankly to the application form questions: "Have you ever been arrested?" and "Have you ever been asked to resign from a position?" After all, how can you pretend that a thing like the War Measures never happened to you, especially when your name was in the Montreal Gazette, Quebec Press, and even the Toronto Globe and Mail?

Just the same, she was surprised to be asked, at a second interview for the job, a week later, "You are a member, aren't you, of the Socialist Workers' League?" (sic). When she asked where the company had got the information, the interviewer said, "I imagine it comes from a police file."

Is that so? Simpson, not one to be intimidated, immediately went to the Civil Liberties Union and a lawyer. With the advice of the CLU, she took her story to the press, and has written to the Quebec ombudsman, demanding an investigation. She is also demanding compensation for her months of unemployment, $5,000 for damages to her reputation, and a written apology from the government for her detention.

The question is posed: how many among the hundreds of ex-detainees have been investigated and refused jobs because of the War Measures dossiers, which the police don't even have any right to keep? Penny Simpson is demanding a public investigation of the **entire** question, not just of her own case, and also demanding the return of all the dossiers and the copies that have been made.

HALTED PLANT CLOSURE. Teachers and students closed down schools to join demonstration of 4,000 at Mont Laurier protesting threat of Sogefor closure. In background, mechanical crane loads wood on giant bonfire. Sign at top reads Hit Hard and We'll Win with Sogefor. Other signs ask if Premier Bourassa is planning to sell plants to U.S.

Michel Chartrand on Canada-wide tour

Michel Chartrand, leading defendant in the Quebec political trials, will be speaking at public meetings across Canada this month. His tour will be the first major coordinated action by the growing movement in English Canada against the repression in Quebec.

Chartrand is president of the Montreal Central Council of the Confederation of National Trade Unions, and former leader of the Parti Socialiste du Quebec and its predecessor, the Quebec CCF.

A colorful orator, he will be speaking on the War Measures crisis and the meaning of the political trials. Chartrand and four other political prisoners recently scored a big victory for the movement against the repression when the government was forced to drop charges of seditious conspiracy against them. He still faces charges of memberhip in the outlawed FLQ, under Trudeau's dictatorial Public Order Act.

A major objective of Michel Chartrand's tour is to raise money for the defense of the political prisoners.

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Michel Chartrand's tour is being coordinated by the Emergency Committee to Defend Political Rights in Quebec. The committee may be contacted at P.O. Box 58, Station M, Toronto 21.

labor Challenge #27 Mar 1971

Chartrand queries PQ role at 'provisional gov't' rally

The active movement in Quebec against the repression continues to grow. One of the biggest meetings so far took place Feb. 23. While Premier Bourassa and his Liberal government reopened the National Assembly (parliament) in pomp and circumstance that day, 1,500 persons in Montreal attended the "provisional government" of the Movement for the Defense of Quebec Political Prisoners.

The provisional government — the name was a spoof on the "plot" Trudeau alleged to invoke the War Measures — featured leading personalities in the nationalist and trade union movements playing the part of ministers in the government of an independent Quebec. The "prime minister" was Pierre Bourgault, editor of the weekly magazine Point de Mire and now an executive member of the PQ.

But the most popular figure was without doubt the "minister of labor" — Michel Chartrand, just out of jail following his successful contesting, together with his co-accused, of the seditious conspiracy charge.

Spurred on by the repeated applause of the audience, the outstanding labor leader spoke for over an hour. He blasted the myth of an "apprehended insurrection" which Trudeau and Bourassa had claimed existed in October. The governments had consciously and deliberately decided to abandon Laporte, one of their own, he said, rather than concede the release of the political prisoners demanded by the kidnappers.

Chartrand went on to question the commitment of the Parti Quebecois to the cause of fighting for the Quebec workers. If the PQ fails to support us, he said, then the Quebec workers will stop supporting it and build their own party, a labor party.

Representing the ministry of education, Diane Lamoureux, a student at CEGEP Vieux Montreal and a member of the Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes, spoke of student struggles in her school and the students' solidarity with the ongoing teachers' struggle against government attempts to "declassify" them. She and Chartrand were the only speakers to link the concept of an independentist government to the current mass struggles.

This parody of Bourassa's parliament aroused the ire of the Parti Quebecois. Its executive council and parliamentary caucus issued a statement protesting that the action would "serve only to devaluate still more institutions like parliament and the public administration which will always remain necessary under any democratic regime."

LEADING DEFENDANTS in Quebec trials, Robert Lemieux (left) and Michel Chartrand in conversation during March 2 meeting in support of co-defendants Pierre Vallieres and Charles Gagnon.

PQ hardens against left challenge

(From Labor Challenge March 1971, from La Lutte Ouvrière*)*

by Louis Paquette *(Art Y. --ed.)*

QUEBEC — The 1,200 delegates who gathered in Quebec City Feb. 26 - 28 for the annual convention of the Parti Québécois stayed completely within the framework that the top leadership of the party had set out. The convention which centered mostly around the election of a new leadership and a few modifications to the party's structures, finally resulted in only minor changes.

The only notable change was the election of Pierre Bourgault *(former leader of the left-wing nationalist group R.I.N. and charismatic orator --ed.)* to the national executive of the party, certainly a victory for the "left" wing, but the only one during the whole convention. It was, moreover, an election which, for the party leadership, was to serve as a safety valve.

The left within the party, more numerous than at the founding convention, was, however, more impotent than ever. 'The convention hardly reflected the wide radicalisation which Quebec has seen in the last year: the current wave of repression and the October events were pushed into the background, the subject of a pitiful resolution.

In short, the convention convincingly reaffirmed the socialists' characterization of the PQ as essentially a **bourgeois** party *(also described variously and perhaps more accurately by the LSO as a petit-bourgeois party -- ed.)* — which, whatever support it presently gets from the working class, responds primarily to the middle-class "technocrats" who control its leadership. PQ leader René Lévesque established the overall tone of the convention at its very beginning Friday evening, when he blasted the socialists (whom he always, calls "extremists, those who are for violence, revolutionaries"). "The Parti Québécois," he declared, "has not been and will never be a front for those who want to sleep with or even flirt with violence or the cloudy illusions of revolutionary action." This kind of speech was heard during the entire convention. The executive intervened in the discussions several times to block the delegates from adopting certain resolutions that the leadership considered too radical.

Reject French-language rights

The most important conflict occurred around the language question. There was no doubt that the majority of the delegates supported the proposal to establish a French unilingual school system. This proposal, which had been unanimously adopted in the workshop, came under virulent attack by the top brass. Under this attack, the best-known partisans of the motion — Pierre Bourgault, Claude Charron (MLA), and Paul Unterburg — abandoned it. Only some young militants came to the mike to defend it; and at the other mike stood René Lévesque to attack it with his habitual arguments, including the threat of the resignation of the entire leadership if it were passed.

Even with this kind of wild opposition, the proposal received 40 percent of the votes.

Lévesque declared that after the PQ takes power, there will not be any need to eliminate the English schools because French will automatically be the language of work. But what is there to guarantee that under a PQ regime the companies will not continue to impose their language? A formal law? There are many laws, right now, that the capitalists do not obey — the laws against pollution and unsafe construction methods, for example. Given the extreme dependency of a PQ government on foreign capitalists, we can strongly suspect that the PQ in power will not twist the companies' arms too strongly to force them to obey the law on the language of work.

No support for prisoners

The leadership didn't fail to use their heavy hand on several other motions. One motion called for Vallières and Gagnon to be freed on bail. The executive, which considered this motion inacceptable, replaced it with one of its own which didn't mention these political prisoners; demanding instead that the government pay $500 into a fund to be set up to compensate the victims of the October repression. That is, one dollar per victim!

That was the only special resolution presented by the executive. The teachers' struggle was never mentioned during the convention. The "federal spy in the party" affair was never clarified. But the leadership used it to establish a means of expelling members of the party; after Lévesque's virulent attacks on the "radicals," we can well imagine who is going to be expelled.

Thus the program remains unchanged. Its meaning is spelled out in a pamphlet distributed to all attending the convention, entitled *L'Avenir Economique d'un Québec Souverain* (The economic future of a sovereign – i.e., PQ, Quebec) — by Jacques Parizeau, an executive of the party and its leading economist. Written in response to the questions which the editors of the magazine *Maintenant* posed to him, and published on the eve of the Quebec elections, this pamphlet has now been republished in a large press run and is used by the PQ as one of its basic documents.

Nothing shows more clearly than this pamphlet the PQ's inability to bring about a real "solution" of our national oppression. Parizeau speaks of Quebec's national inequality within Canada — "The vise of unemployment and low incomes." He emphasizes the lack of investments, the outmoded industries, the few very dynamic industries, etc.

The reasons for this situation are well known. The Quebec economy is not in the hands of the Québécois. It is foreign capitalists who own almost all of the national riches. The Quebec economy has always been a colonized economy, destined to serve the metropolis, and thus has never known a balanced development. The foreign capitalists have centered it around the extraction and export of raw materials, and the production of light consumers goods. Thus, very vulnerable to the fluctuations of international commerce, it serves imperialism as a source of raw materials, of cheap labor, and as a market for their

finished products.

A conclusion is obvious: the only way to put an end to this oppression is to take the control of our economy out of the hands of foreign capital, to "nationalize" it (in the full sense of the term), in order to establish a planned, socialist economy under workers' control. That is not at all Parizeau's or the PQ's idea. On the contrary, their aim is to use "the governmental instruments with a little more energy than has up to now been the custom."

Parizeau and the PQ want to establish a Quebec state similar to the state that we now have: only, this state will be a little modernized and more intelligent than that of Trudeau-Bourassa. Parizeau declares: "...We are already engaged in an obvious process of autonomy. **Which does not mean to say, obviously, that a large number of outside centers of decisions *(translate: outside capitalists — LP)* do not continue and will not continue to direct a good part of our economic activity."** (Our emphasis.)

There it is, nothing fundamental will change. Perhaps the name of Quebec's owner will be different, but we will not be any more master of our destiny than before. Parizeau explains that the Québécois, "né pour un petit pain" (born to be poor), will remain a nation exploited, for, he informs us, in a PQ-run Quebec, we will not yet be competent enough to be factory managers. The foreign managers will have to be maintained in their place.. "The French Canadians (sic) are but little oriented towards manufacturing industry; the number who can efficiently manage a factory are still few." Far from M. Parizeau to imagine that the Québécois workers (80 percent of the population), well acquainted with industry, could take over the control of their own offices and factories!

Independence — or dependence?

And if it is not even a question of becoming only a factory manager, we can quickly forget any hope that the Québécois could become **owners** of their own economy!

Unemployment will persist. The party congress rejected a resolution supporting the right to a job, as the delegates decided that the PQ in power would be unable to fulfill such a commitment. Parizeau doesn't speak of eliminating this plague, but of "**reducing** unemployment" as a "central objective." State funds will go to the capitalists; those who decide to do business in Quebec will be subsidized, as is now the case. "It is necessary to bring about the fusion of companies" through subsidies. The monopolists will get gifts of money if they eliminate their competitors so as to better exploit the market. Quebec hasn't enough monopolies!

That's only the beginning of the story. A PQ regime would belong to the capitalists, more than the current government, Parizeau declares. "It is undeniable that this regime will be characterized by a much larger interpenetration of the actions of the government and the companies than we have known to date."

In the same vein, the official PQ program projects a much stronger state control over

the unions, so as to "reduce the excessive scope of labor conflicts." Dominated and exploited as before, the Quebec workers will not fail to react against such a government. That is why Parizeau and the PQ want to keep "a civil defense force, designed, among other things, to deal with police strikes" and, we can well imagine, with other strikes, demonstrations, and explosions of anger from the masses who will discover that the PQ has tricked them.

It is not true, explains Parizeau, that the capitalists will line up against the PQ. At the present time, they are against, but that is only one of "the rules of the game, that they are against Quebec's independence. If it appears clearly that the Parti Québécois can take power, the same companies that will have pushed so hard to stop the spread of the idea will exercise equally strong pressures on the federal and Quebec governments in order that, if separation must take place, it occurs in an orderly, moderate fashion, in as rational a framework as possible. *'Don't upset the applecart'*. . .(English in the original).

English capital — best ally?

"In fact, from this point on, the main enemies of independence will become its best allies." You see, says Parizeau, from the moment when the capitalists see that the independence movement is going to take power, they will back the PQ in order to be sure that independence does not threaten their investments and privileges. The same capitalists will become the **best allies** of the PQ, to stop the mass movement from establishing a real independence, that is, socialism. The PQ thus offers itself as the last rampart in the defense of foreign capitalism in Quebec.

To crown it all, Parizeau affirms at the end of the pamphlet: "To be independent, in Quebec, does not mean that the Québécois by themselves will orient their own policies..." No? Then who will orient them? International imperialism, Parizeau explains in the other part of the sentence: ". . .but (it means) playing within the framework of pitiless international competition, where, to be prosperous, it is necessary to be efficient and competitive."

Let's translate this technocrat's language into ordinary language: PQ-style "independence" will not allow the Québécois to decide their own fate, for they will still be living in a capitalist regime, and so international imperialism will always be strong enough to impose its rules. That's exactly what the socialists say: without socialism there can be no real independence.

For Québécois who are looking to free themselves, to take hold of Quebec's riches and to develop them as they wish in a planned economy, democratically directed by the working population, the PQ is only a delusion. Loyal in the final analysis to foreign capitalism, the PQ cannot satisfy our aspirations.

The Parti Québécois is on a tightrope. Enjoying very wide support from Quebec workers, who seek to win their national liberation, it maintains a fundamentally procapitalist orientation which blocks it from responding to the aspirations of its

working-class partisans. The growing mobilization of workers for their emancipation leads them inevitably into a struggle against the bosses who the PQ defends; thus the tightrope will begin to shake, and the PQ will lose its footing.

The workers will see that they have no choice but to undertake political action independent of the capitalist parties, to construct their own party, and to take power in order to establish a Quebec which is truly independent, a socialist Quebec.

========start BOX=====
'Boudreau' corrected spelling

Photo caption: AT PQ CONVENTION. Emile Boudreau, a Steel workers' union staffer, blasted several delegates whose contributions to the discussion had been strongly anti-union. He revealed that a leading PQer in Montreal was the chief witness for Noranda Mines against the Steelworkers' Union.

======== END BOX =======

Montreal abortion march marks Int'l Women's Day

by Penny Simpson

MONTREAL, March 8 — Over 100 people marched here today for the right to free abortion on demand, as part of the world-wide celebrations of International Women's Day.

Chanting "Fin aux boucheries, avortement gratuit" — (End the butchery, free abortion!) they marched six blocks to the provincial ministry of health and welfare to denounce the provincial government's role in denying Quebec women the right to abortion.

The demonstration faced almost insurmountable organizational odds. Three snowstorms in five days paralyzed the city to such a degree that the government had to bring in emergency measures (dubbed the "Snow Measures Act"). The women's liberation movement was unable to distribute in the schools until the day of the action — for the schools were closed. Press releases clogged undelivered in a snowed-in postal service. Street distributions of leaflets were impossible.

Nevertheless the enthusiastic participants clambered over shoulder-high snowbanks to take over half the street in the face of a police mobilization — and that in the middle of rush hour.

They then marched to a school auditorium to discuss the situation in detail. The governments have permitted a situation which makes abortion for French-speaking women virtually impossible.

The French-language hospitals are run by the Catholic church. The governments permit it to utilize this monopoly to force its anti-abortion policy on French-speaking women. Of 181 abortions in Quebec in the first year of Trudeau's "liberalized" abortion law, only one was performed in a French hospital.

Continued action was projected with the determination to win repeal of the abortion laws and to stop the double oppression of Quebecoises under these laws.

The action was organized jointly by the abortion action committees of the Front de Liberation des Femmes and the Women's Liberation Movement.

Other actions for International Women's Day were held across Canada.

In London, England, 4,000 women marched through the streets from Trafalgar Square to Hyde Park on the coldest day of winter. Banners from all over England raised their four demands: the right to birth control information and devices equal pay for equal work, the need for child-care centers, and free abortion on demand.

labor Challenge #21 Mar 1971

Behind Lewis slanders of 'Waffle'

by Dick Fidler

Just as he hoped, Ontario NDP leader Stephen Lewis attracted a lot of attention in the daily press recently when he launched a major public attack on the party's left-wing "Waffle" group.

In an interview with the Globe and Mail, Lewis accused the Waffle of "casting everything into extreme language and simple solutions." The Waffle and its candidate for the federal NDP leadership, Jim Laxer, were "irresponsible" in calling on the party to recognize and support the right of the Quebec nation to self-determination. It is "advocating and confirming the dismemberment of Canada," Lewis protested. "The party has to avoid this whole business of an identification with the Parti Quebecois."

Speaking to the party's provincial council Feb. 21, Lewis denounced the Waffle's "peculiarly sterile and sectarian view of nationalization as the answer" to the increasing domination of Canada by foreign capital. Public ownership, he claimed, is "hopelessly deficient" and "too costly and unworkable."

Two days later, the Globe reported at length on Lewis' frequent speeches before "such bastions of free enterprise as the Canadian Club, the Toronto Board of Trade and several service clubs."

"He also held a couple of very private meetings with some Bay Street stockbrokers whom nobody will identify," the Globe gleefully reported. "But Mr. Lewis will talk about a mid-December private meeting he and four fellow NDP members had with several senior executives of Bell Canada, as well as an upcoming private chat with the Ontario executive of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association.

"The meeting with Bell, Mr. Lewis says, discussed the relationship between an NDP government and Bell, 'and what our policies would be if Bell showed us their rates, investments and balance sheets'."

photo by Fidler

STEPHEN LEWIS, Ontario NDP leader attacks socialists.

We can be sure Lewis didn't promise to nationalize Bell!

What does it all mean? Is Lewis preparing to purge the NDP's left wing? Is he preparing to hand the party over to Bay Street?

Neither. What's happened is that Lewis smells an election in the offing, and like any opportunist misleader, he feels impelled to dissociate himself and the party he heads from positions which might commit the party to radical anticapitalist solutions. In the process, he is fully prepared to distort and misrepresent the left's program — as in his false claim that the Waffle supports the Parti Quebecois (Laxer has publicly renounced such suggestions), or his insinuation to the provincial council that the Waffle proposes "widespread and almost indiscriminate nationalization."

It doesn't matter that on the issues which Lewis has chosen to single out for attack — public ownership and Quebec self-determination — the Waffle group's approach is in the view of socialists not just eminently reasonable, but also the only one consistent with the NDP's role as a working class party.

For the NDP leadership see the situation quite differently. They are not out for radical social change. Essentially satisfied with the present system, they see their role as simply one of pressuring the ruling class to concede some small reforms to make the system work better. They even cast themselves as friendly advisers to the capitalists — as when NDP federal leader T.C. Douglas recently warned that "when the country's plundered poor get to the point where they feel there is no hope for jobs, they are fertile ground for revolution. Unfortunately," he added, "those in control rarely realize this until it is too late."

The NDP right-wing leadership is wholly committed to seeking office within the system. With their myopic view of electoral politics and parliamentarism as the highest form of political activity, they lay great stress on adapting to more backward layers of the population, in hopes of picking up votes, rather than seeking to win over more conservative sectors through a program aimed at extending and deepening existing areas of radicalization. The NDP leaders have a great fear of the ruling class's power — reinforced through its control of the state — to mobilize conservative opinion against them; the drop in popular support for the NDP, registered in opinion polls immediately after the War Measures Act, filled them with trauma.

The impending Ontario elections have brought all these pressures to a focus: thus, Stephen Lewis' comment to the Globe, that as he looked ahead to the next election, "there is one cloud on my political horizon" — the Waffle.

→p.2

Lewis' position is not only unprincipled — as a strategy, it doesn't work. The capitalists are not neutralized, still less won over, by Lewis' syrupy reassurances. They know the radical potential of the NDP — the Canadian labor party — even if they are quite capable of developing a bemused contempt for its spineless leaders.

And worst of all, the right wing's opportunism, its pandering to backward prejudices, fails completely to build a conscious mass base for social change. It only miseducates, and leads ultimately to defeat and demoralization.

And if, by chance, mass discontent does lift the NDP into office, its mandate for change is hollow.

Has the right wing opened up an all-out campaign to smash the left?

One thing is sure — Stephen Lewis hasn't changed his spots. Always a right winger, he's just dropping any left cover he may have had to pick up along the way to the party leadership.

Moreover, the radicalization in Canadian society continues to broaden. Even the right wing know that to be relevant, they must to some degree be responsible to this movement. In the last analysis, their mandate derives from the labor base of the party, even if they reflect its backside — in the first place, the trade union bureaucracy.

That is to say, the NDP, unlike the thoroughly bourgeois Parti Quebecois, for example, is not just an electoral machine bent on office — but an organization that sits astride the working class and must respond to its impulses.

The current public attacks on the left by Stephen Lewis and other NDP leaders, including his father, must be seen above all as an attempt to pressure the Waffle to purge its own ranks, to get rid of its revolutionary elements, and to domesticate itself. In this, they are heeding the advice of important sections of the bourgeoisie — as expressed in some Toronto Star editorials during the War Measures crisis last fall.

The Waffle must resist this blackmail. It must reject all suggestions that this or that view in the left should be proscribed in the NDP. And more than ever, it must see its role as not just the socialist conscience of the NDP, and not just an anti-imperialist caucus within the party, but as the crucible for the building of an alternative class-struggle leadership for the party. That leadership — a socialist leadership — will be built around a strategy which aims not just to elect the NDP to office, but to thrust it toward *power.*

NDP rally fights oil pollution threat

labor Challenge #27 Mar 1971

by Gary Porter

VANCOUVER — Over 1,000 Americans and 3,000 British Columbians mobilized at the Peace Arch on the Canada-U.S. border Feb. 20 to demonstrate against the proposed oil shipments from Alaska to Washington State and the almost certain giant oil spillage disasters that will result. The demonstration, initiated by Waffle activists, was sponsored and organized by the B.C. New Democratic Party. Barry Mather, NDP MP, and several anti-pollution activists spoke to the demonstration.

The issue is clear. Recent discovery of oil on the Alaskan north slope has led to the projection of an 800-mile pipeline, which, in operation will carry 500,000 gallons of oil in every pipe-mile surging along at seven miles an hour. When the oil reaches the port of Valdez, Alaska, it is to be loaded on super tankers and shipped down along the B.C. coast, through the Strait of Juan de Fuca to Cherry Point, Washington.

But the frightening rash of giant oil spills leaving fish and wildlife dead in millions, beaches polluted and the ecology of whole areas destroyed, has led to mounting opposition from British Columbians, many of whom depend on the sea for their livelihood.

The Lower Mainland Regional District Council representing Vancouver and other municipalities has requested that the tankers be stopped. The NDP, however, has taken the lead in concretely mobilizing citizen support in B.C. — an example for the NDP across Canada.

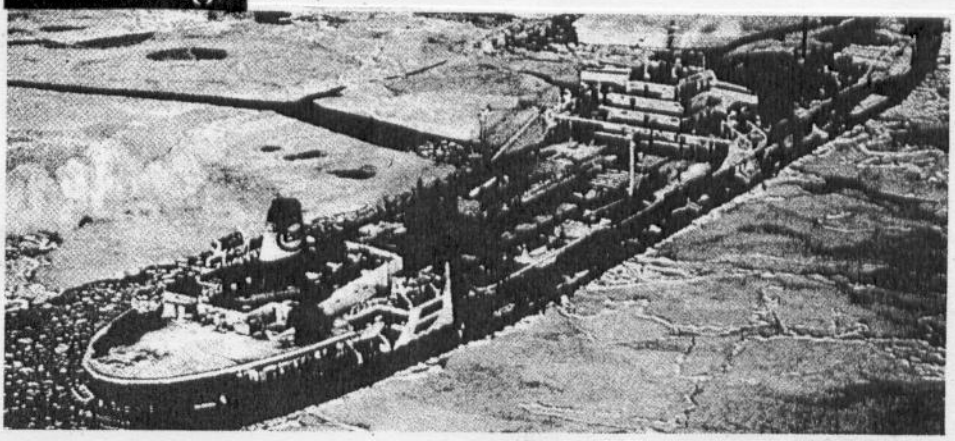
As many have pointed out, tanker oil spills on the B.C. coast will be virtually inevitable. The results would be many times more disastrous than the two-million gallon spill which shocked Canadians a year ago in February at Nova Scotia's Chedabucto Bay.

According to a speaker at the recent United Fishermen's union convention, "The ecology is so badly disrupted in Chedabucto Bay that oil is still killing birds and other wildlife there one year after the spill.

"You can throw a rock the size of a tennis ball and it won't sink through the oil."

The tankers plying the waters off the B.C. coast would carry up to 80 million gallons each. The spectacle of thousand of birds and animals dying under their oily shroud in San Francisco after the recent two-million gallon spill there would be tiny by comparison to a spill from a super-tanker off the B.C. coast.

What is the solution? One solution proposed is to extend Canadian territorial waters to a limit of 200 miles. But, as one fisherman put it, "It doesn't matter if it's dumped in the middle of the Pacific. It will stay there forever, destroying life until it blows ashore." Another, more realistic proposal is the demand that the whole project be halted — no tankers from Alaska. But isn't this unreasonable? Isn't it U.S. oil and doesn't U.S. industry need the oil?



POLLUTION MENACE. Last year's voyage by U.S. supertanker Manhattan to test feasibility of transporting oil from Alaska via Arctic route raised wide protests from Canadians concerned about threat of irreparable destruction of ecology if the ship were holed by ice. Now U.S. oil barons, rushing after profits, plan to ship oil down Canada's west coast — with no guarantee against disastrous spills.

The plain facts are that there already exists overproduction of crude oil on a colossal scale. Texas oil fields operate an average of only eight days a month. Why then is oil exploration and development going on at an accelerating pace all over the world?

For forty years the arrogant, ruthless power of the international oil cartel (the Seven Sisters) has ruled the world oil market. This cartel squeezes lush super-profits out of everybody by robbing the colonial producer countries in Latin America and the Middle East and then charging prices based on the high cost of the Texas fields plus shipment from Gulf of Mexico ports for all oil sold.

These phony production and phantom shipping charges were made possible by a virtual monopoly on crude oil reserves and they resulted in profits of up to 44 percent in one year on the net worth of the biggest and richest industrial empire in the world.

But problems have developed. Producer countries in Latin America have demanded 55 percent of the profits. Other giant companies, drawn like flies to the lush super-profits, have begun to enter the field. The Soviet Union, following its rapid recovery after World War II, is exporting oil at reasonable prices and has already penetrated some western markets.

These factors have resulted in over-production, a softening of the price structure and an undermining of the fantastic rate of profit for the cartel. This, together with the insecurity of Middle East oil which increases with every advance of the Arab revolution, has resulted in a mad race to find more and cheaper supplies of crude oil and to ship it thousands of miles in huge unsafe tankers to secure continued super-profits for the oil cartel.

The U.S. could meet its own needs from domestic supplies, especially with full use of public transportation in place of gas-driven cars and if the U.S. military were abolished. But the anarchy and insanity of profit-seeking prevails. We witness the lunacy of overproduction leading to a ruthless, reckless and irresponsible drive for more oil and to hell with caution or ecology or preservation of scarce resources.

Some Ottawa officials now talk of a pipeline through the Arctic for Alaskan oil as some kind of acceptable alternative. Yet the threat to the Arctic's delicate ecology posed by pipelines has been repeatedly demonstrated. The point is, capitalist oil barons have produced no plan which can transport Arctic oil without danger.

Until this is done, it should stay in the ground.

Why should these giant profit-gougers be permitted to play havoc with B.C.'s coast, or the east coast — or anybody's coast for that matter? The demand must simply be to ban the tankers from the Alaska route — and stop their pipelines at the Canadian border. Will profits be cut for the richest industry in the world? Big deal!

Further, Canada must tell the U.S. oil barons to go home. Nationalize Canadian oil and gas reserves and take it out of the hands of these wasteful, irresponsible oil potentates for good.

Labor Challenge fund drive

$14,750 goal to build socialist press

$14,750 for Labor Challenge by May Day!

It's not much. Trudeau's government could raise the money by suspending war expenditures less than four minutes. International Nickel could pick up the tab with the profits of the labor of only three of its many thousand workers.

It's the minimum — to ensure publication of Labor Challenge for another 12 months.

Unlike the mass media, we don't look to government or business for protection and financing. We don't meet our bills by filling our pages with ads, or by approaching well-heeled investors. This is **your** paper. And it's up to **you** to finance it.

How often have you said, selling Labor Challenge or passing it on to a friend, "No, this paper is different."

For one thing it's written by you — by participants like yourself in the labor movement, in women's liberation, in the various aspects of the new radicalization growing across the country. And it's circulated by you, by its readers, in sales at radical and labor meetings, on the job, at school, through the year.

This was Labor Challenge's first year — and what a year it's been! This was the year of Trudeau's war on Quebec, when the government "apprehended an insurrection" by (among others of its War Measures) throwing our Quebec correspondents in jail.

Establishment papers across Canada were caving in to a government-imposed unofficial censorship. We told the truth about Trudeau's armed invasion of Quebec and his violation of all our rights. And that was only one facet of a year of broadening struggles.

Our first year saw us expand across the country — we now have regular contributors in more than a dozen cities — and increase our readership so that our subscription lists are now three times as long as last spring.

But there's a price tag on our second year — $14,750. Only you can pay it. You have little enough money, otherwise it's not likely you'd be reading this paper. The government, the corporations, aim to grab it out of your hands almost before you receive it.

So send it to us! Give your money for what you really want for a change — a fighting paper to safeguard your jobs, your future, to lead the struggle for a socialist Canada.

$14,750 — let's go over the top by May Day!

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mail to: Labor Challenge, P.O. Box 5595, Station A, Toronto

LSA protests hoodlum attack by Maoist group

On Wednesday, Feb. 24, Dick Fidler, a eading member of the League for Socialist Action, was attacked and beaten by three supporters of the Canadian Party of Labor, a small Maoist grouping.

Fidler came upon the three about midnight pasting CPL posters on the League for Socialist Action headquarters in Toronto, and asked them if they had permission to do so. Their response was to attack him and beat him until diverted by the approach of a passing taxicab driver. Fidler was severely bruised.

The Toronto LSA has distributed the following statement to CPL members and the local radical press.

"We, in the League for Socialist Action protest this attack. In our view it is an attack on and threat to the whole left.

"Such attacks make it easier for the authorities to divide the left and to attack it. They lend justification to charges that those on the left are the source of violence in this society. They can open up the left as a whole to attack by these authorities — themselves the promoters and perpetrators of violence in Canada today.

"There are a number of groups within the radical movement which hold widely varying views. Are the differences between these groups to be settled by physical violence until the group with the strongest members wins out? Using physical violence to this end is an old discredited Stalinist tactic and we must make sure that it does not return to plague the left.

"We, in the League for Socialist Action, have important political differences with the Canadian Party of Labor. We are ready at any time to discuss these differences openly and democratically with CPL.

"We believe that democratic relations between the different left groups are essential to the development of the left as a whole. Do the members of CPL have such a lack of confidence in their political ideas that they must attack their opponents on the left physically rather than participating in democratic debate with them?

"The Canadian Party of Labor must publicly apologize for this attack and commit itself to cease the use of physical violence against its opponents on the left."

labor Challenge

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labor Challenge #27

Czech 'Trotskyists' win trial adjournment

The trial of 25 young persons held more than a year in Czechoslovak prisons on charges of belonging to a "Trotskyite" organization was adjourned in Prague March 1 when one of the group, Peter Uhl, challenged the objectivity of the court.

"The judicial guerrilla struggle hits Czechoslovakia" — that was how Montreal's Le Devoir characterized the challenge, in an obvious comparison with the courtroom tactics employed by Quebec political prisoners.

Uhl charged that the judge was implicated in past trials, the discredited and repudiated trials of Communist militants in the past, and was therefore not competent to hear the case. The panel of judges upheld the objection, which will now be heard by the Supreme Court.

The prisoners were arrested in December 1969. Agence France-Presse gives this background to the case:

"In January 1970, the Czech press reported discovery of a 'Trotskyist' organization hostile to the state, whose aim was to disrupt the process of consolidation and to create a political crisis. According to (the Prague daily) Rude Pravo, the goal of this organization, known as the 'Revolutionary Socialist party of Czechoslovakia' and 'arising from the so-called Revolutionary Youth Movement,' was to 'overthrow the socialist regime not only in Czechoslovakia but also in other socialist countries, including the Soviet Union.' The newspaper also specified that this movement was mainly composed of students and young workers, and that it was active primarily among the steel workers, the printers, and among students."

The Husak regime has long pledged that there would be no show trials of political dissidents such as there were in the Stalinist purges of the Novotny era. The present government's words have been belied by its actions, however, and since 1969 a growing number of fighters for socialist democracy have been jailed.

The bigger wave of arrests, including the youths about to go on trial, occurred in December 1969 when 1,700 persons were "investigated" by the police. No figures were ever released on the number of arrests.

The specific accusations against the twenty-five "Trotskyites," outlined in a communique issued January 12, 1970 by the Czech Ministry of the Interior, were entirely limited to the dissemination of political ideas. The students were charged with such "crimes" as having "distributed various publications," having maintained political contacts abroad, and having received "Trotskyist literature" from outside Czechoslovakia.

Petr Uhl

Solidarity has already been expressed for the twenty-five youths in an open letter to the Czechoslovak government drafted December 14 by a number of well-known European intellectuals and left-wing figures, including Jean-Paul Sartre, Ernest Bloch, Francois Maspero, and Ernest Mandel.

The open letter, which is still being circulated for additional signatures, demands the immediate release of the prisoners accused of belonging to the "Revolutionary Socialist party," and appeals for "a public political discussion ... on their activities and views."

The signers of the appeal declare that it was "slanderous to accuse these young comrades of counterrevolutionary activity. Even though we do not fully agree with their views, we believe that these views must be open to public discussion in a socialist country. . .

"In our opinion these young Czechoslovak comrades express a correct point of view in two aspects important for all communists: (1) In their program they propagandized for an organization of the working people at the point of immediate production, and (2) they displayed unstinting solidarity with the anti-imperialist movements in the Third World and the capitalist centers."

In Berlin 2,000 young workers and students passed a resolution Feb. 10 presented by Ernest Mandel denouncing the trial and voicing solidarity with the group's fight for workers democracy.

In Paris Feb. 12 the Communist League, French section of the Fourth International, demonstrated their solidarity at the Czechoslovak embassy.

Trudeau stalls on women's rights

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labor Challenge

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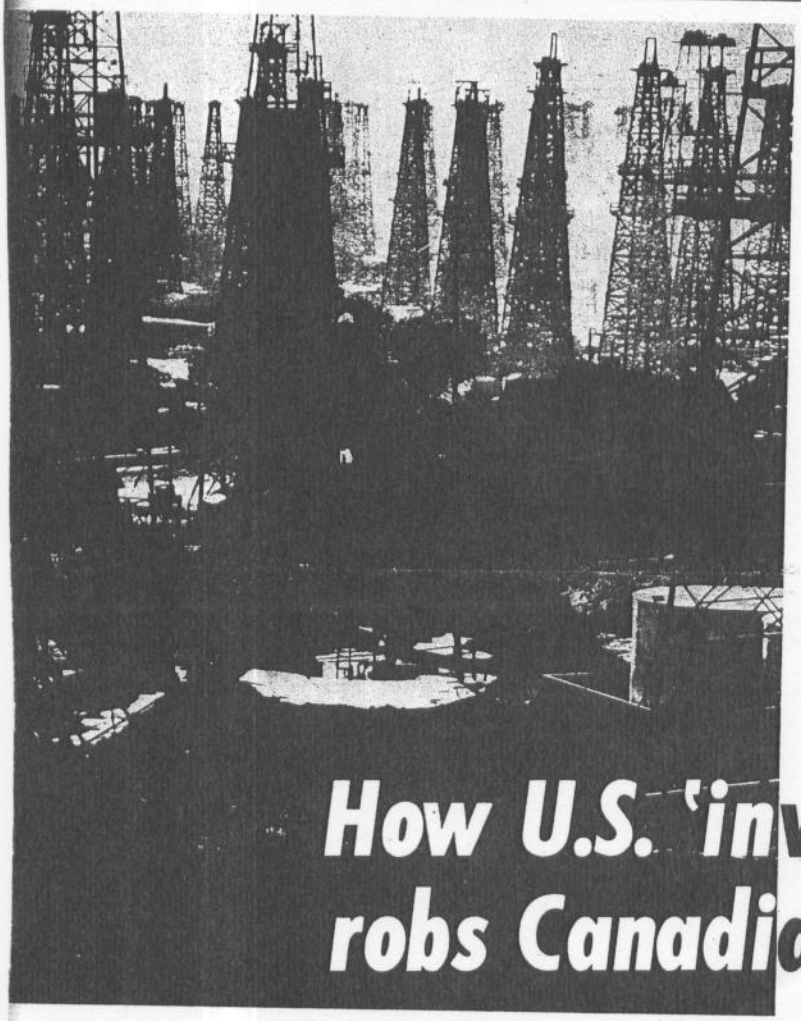
Our fund drive raises its sight

page



Chartrand's tour:

English Canada warms to Quebec cause

page 7

How U.S. 'investment' robs Canadian workers

page 5

Socialist candidates win campus elections

page 2

VICTORIOUS YOUNG SOCIALIST CANDIDATES. Linda Meissenheimer (left) won election as president of the Simon Fraser University students council in Vancouver. Joan Campana was elected ombudswoman at the University of British Columbia.

labor Challenge #28 Mar 1971

U.S. takeovers financed by our (Canadian) money!

by John Riddell

The greatest minds in Canadian finance have finally come up with the program for Canadian independence. Hold on to your hats!

The chairman and president of the Royal Bank of Canada, W. Earle McLaughlin, let the secret out at a conclave of the rulers of Canada's banking monopolies with high-level U.S. capitalists in New York March 18.

Foreign investment is actually the real key to Canada's economic independence, he said, because it will bring the country in due course to that state of maturity when Canadians will be able to own "as much or as little of Canada as they wish."

Does McLaughlin think Canadians somehow too backward to run their own country? And after the U.S. corporations have raised us to their distinctively lofty level of civilization, just how is it that we get them to depart?

If McLaughlin's idea sounded bizarre, its underlying assumption was familiar, and was what led Canada's top bankers on their pilgrimage to Wall Street. Canadian prosperity is dependent on U.S. investment, they maintained, and Canada needs as much more of it as possible. Allan Lambert, chairman and president of the Toronto-Dominion Bank, specified that only a massive influx of foreign capital could keep the economy growing in pace with the expanding Canadian work force.

In that case our future is assured, for foreign ownership in Canada is expanding at an unprecedented rate. The latest report under the Corporations and Labor Union Returns Act (CLURA) shows foreign-controlled assets rising at a rate of 14 percent a year, hitting $50 billion in 1968.

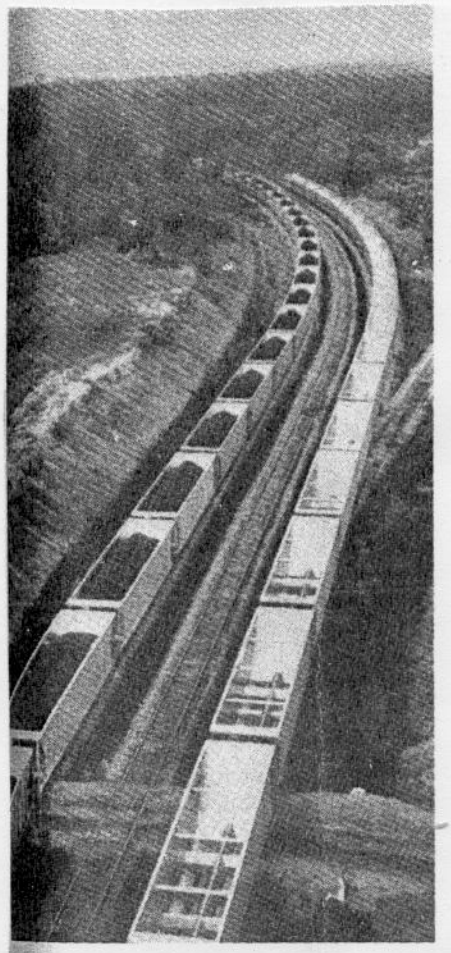
The CLURA report reveals the foreign-owned share of the economy increasing at an astonishingly rapid pace. In only three years, 1965-68, the proportion of all non-financial corporate assets controlled outside the country rose from 36 percent to 39.4 percent. (See box.)

The influx of foreign capital was particularly marked in areas up till now dominated by Canadian business, like services, trade, and construction.

But why should Canada need such gargantuan injections of foreign investment?

Canada is too poor to make it without foreign investment; foreign money is arriving in massive quantities; prosperity for all will surely follow — a simple story the way the bankers tell it. Yet not one part of it contains a scrap of truth.

First off, the level of per capita income in Canada is second only to the U.S. in the world. The rate of personal savings here is $550 million in U.S. funds were invested in Canada, compared to total savings in Canada of some $10 billion. By 1968 funds from the U.S. had dropped off to $127 million.



SOMETHING FOR NOTHING. U.S. investment, stripping Canada of its natural resources, hauls to the south profits in the order of $10 billion a year. Its contribution in return for this has yet to be discovered.

How are U.S. corporations financing their expansion in Canada? They are buying up Canada with our own money! In 1968 for example almost 95 percent of total new direct "U.S. investment" was Canadian funds: profits and depreciation allowances deducted from the product of Canadian workers and funds raised on the Canadian money market.

To an increasing extent, funds sent south by U.S. corporations far outweigh new U.S. investment here. The annual total of interest, dividends, royalties and higher than in the U.S. If the great heaps of profit appropriated by big business are not sufficient to finance economic growth, some explanations are surely in order from the profiteers.

And there is virtually no inflow of U.S. money into Canada. In 1965, a year of exceptionally high U.S. investment, only management fees sent to the U.S. rose steadily through the '60's, mounting from $450 million (1960) to over $1 billion (1968). Over the decade 1960-69 there was a net outflow of capital to the U.S. from Canada of $2,625,000,000.

But don't U.S. investors have a right to take home what they earn here? McLaughlin of the Royal Bank certainly thinks so. He explained to the appreciative businessmen of New York:

"Profits paid to foreigners are a measure of the services Canadians have received from foreigners. The greater the profits, the greater the services and the Canadian tax revenues, provided that sound competitive practices are followed, which is of course the responsibility of Canadian authorities."

No doubt his reference to sound competitive practices was made with a knowing smile. Canada's banks are notorious for their monopolistic practices. It is no accident that interest rates, account plans, and service charges are identical in every bank. Formation of rival new banks is prohibited by law except under severely restrictive procedures.

How U.S. share is growing

Sector	1965 %	1968 %
Mining	57.9	62.8
Manufacturing	55.4	58.1
Construction	9.9	13.6
Retail trade	17.7	21.2
Wholesale trade	26.7	31.4
Services	12.5	19.7
TOTAL: all non-financial corporations	**36**	**39.4**

—CLURA 1968 report.

But please explain: what are these "services" we receive from U.S. investors? What would we lose if they pulled out? The factories and mines would still be running, pouring out wealth through the labor of Canadian workers, wealth marketed by the labor of Canadians. Their expansion, we've seen, is already financed by Canadians. Any initial investment made by U.S. outfits has been repaid many times over. Coupon clipping on Wall St. may be an arduous task, but its benefits to Canada are not so obvious.

There was an audible ruffling of feathers in Ottawa at the bankers' specific criticisms of government policy. Several of them had attacked the Canada Development Corporation, criticized Ottawa's announced intention to halt the sale of Home Oil to U.S. interests, and denounced the 25 percent limit on foreign

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ownership in Canadian banking.

Cabinet ministers professed to be highly irritated. "If the banks disapprove that's just too bad," Finance Minister Benson said.

Does this indicate some serious division in Canada's ruling capitalist class in attitude to U.S. investment? But agreement remains unanimous in big business, Liberal and Tory circles in support of continuing U.S. investment.

Even the Committee for an Independent Canada, representing that wing of the ruling class (Walter Gordon, Toronto Star, etc.) most sensitive to the need to adapt to anti-U.S. sentiment, endorses the principle of foreign investment.

The committee's statement of purpose reads in part, "We recognize the benefits that Canada derives from being the neighbor of the most powerful nation in the world and we do not want to close this country to the foreign capital which it needs."

Behind the apparent controversy over the Canada Development Corporation lies a solid agreement by government and business that slowing the U.S. takeover will not be among its aims.

Bankers find it convenient to take a stance for permitting greater U.S. ownership in Canadian banks; they have to protect their own considerable operations in the U.S. But no element of the capitalist class is questioning the broad and harmonious division of the Canadian economy between foreign and locally-owned sectors, which guarantees Canadian business a subordinate but highly profitable sphere of operation.

The bankers' criticisms come at an opportune moment for Trudeau. Clearly alarmed by the growing popular sentiment against U.S. domination of Canada, the Trudeau government is obviously making attempts to change masks, and appear as a defender of Canadian independence — without of course doing anything to this end. A public quarrel with Canada's unloved bankers is most convenient to build the illusion.

A good hockey team skates over the rink in every direction. It's the best way to maintain control of the ice.

Waffle News spells out left program for NDP

The recently released special leadership convention issue of the Waffle News is a vital contribution to the policy and leadership debate currently raging in the New Democratic Party. It presents a full exposition of the program of Jim Laxer, Waffle candidate for the NDP federal leadership.

Touching on questions of unemployment, women's liberation, Quebec, Canadian resources and the need for public ownership, the paper poses the Waffle and its leadership candidate, Jim Laxer, as the only left alternative before the party.

Through the use of analyses of resource mismanagement by U.S.-owned corporations from coast to coast the paper demonstrates the necessity and validity of public ownership as the key instrument in breaking Canada from foreign capitalist control of the economy.

In other articles the Waffle declares that "women's liberation is part of the fight for socialism" — and urges parity for women's role in society.

Specifically the articles propose that the NDP demand equal job opportunities for women, revamping of the educational system that channels men and women into narrowly defined economic roles and life styles, more effective and available means of contraception, the right to abortion, and cooperatively run community and workplace child care facilities.

Waffle News effectively rebuts the slanders of the Lewises, David and Stephen, and others in the right-wing leadership against the Waffle.

It reprints a Laxer press statement clarifying the Waffle position on Quebec, calling on the NDP to recognize the right of national self-determination for Quebec. He calls for an alliance between English Canadian and Quebec socialists, and not "accommodation" with the Parti Quebecois.

Laxer calls for a reorientation of the NDP away from being simply a machine to fight elections. It must become a party involved in "basic organizing and educational activity that alone can make a socialist party effective."

All NDPers should obtain this attractively designed paper, a 16 page tabloid, and use it in their ridings and locals. Free copies can be obtained from Caroline Brown, 2865 Retallack St., Regina, Sask.

labor Challenge #28 Mar 1971

Ottawa stalls action on women's rights

EQUALITY ON THE JOB. The first woman to break into formerly male-only assembly line at Oshawa GM plant. No thanks to Trudeau — it took firm action by the union (UAW-222) to win women equal seniority and job classification rights at Oshawa.

by Lis Angus

Are women in Canada moving quickly toward achieving equality? The government, aided by the media, is doing its best to make us think so.

It has promised to give "priority consideration" to the recommendations of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women, it has introduced new equal pay and maternity leave legislation, and Prime Minister Trudeau recently gave a speech which purported to call for the removal of all barriers to the full participation of women in Canadian society.

But what is the government really up to? It is doing its best to forestall action on the recommendations of the Royal Commission.

This commission, appointed by the government, carried on extensive study for three years. It held open hearings across the country, considered every point of view, and came up with 167 recommendations. So what has the government done about it? It has set up an interdepartmental committee to study the report. This committee is expected to bring specific proposals to the Cabinet "within a year" and the government has made its "solemn promise of quick action on all the recommendations that are considered feasible and within a federal purview of the report."

In other words, the government is not using the recommendations of its own commission — which the commission said were only a beginning — as a basis for action. In fact this means the government is rejecting the commission's report and ignoring the needs of Canadian women which were urgently reflected in the recommendations.

Trudeau said revealingly, "It is always easy to talk of change; talk is often an excuse for inaction." He and his cabinet are not even talking about it yet. The committee set up to study the report is a convenient excuse for government inaction. The Liberal party has further got itself off the hook by appointing its own three-woman task force to study the commission.

One would think that the commission's report was studied enough — or perhaps too much. We can be sure that all these study committees will not extend the recommendations, but only limit and diminish them to the point where the government will finally find them palatable.

We are seeing more clearly all the time that the government's desire is not to liberate women, but to head off women's demands and short-circuit the women's liberation movement.

Trudeau's speech to the Ontario Liberal fund-raising dinner March 3 only served to confirm this pattern. While trying to give the impression of a real concern with women's rights, this speech made not one concession to the demands of the women's liberation movement. On the contrary, the thrust of Trudeau's speech was a very carefully worded apology supporting women's traditional position in society; he spoke at length about women's "distinctive" contributions in the home and the importance of the family unit. Above all, he did not even mention abortion — after over a year of broadening protests against his stand on this very question.

What about the legislative changes the government has proposed? There are two, contained in an omnibus bill of proposed Labor Code amendments:

First, a maximum penalty of $1,000 for employers who don't give equal pay to women doing "the same or similar work on jobs requiring the same or similar skill, effort and responsibility" as jobs men do. Complaints and prosecutions are to be launched by a labor department inspector instead of the woman herself.

But will this bill change anything? The loopholes are strategically placed. It applies only to workers in the "federal jurisdiction." Part time workers are not covered. There is no provision to compensate women for losses in pay, vacation and fringe benefits where the law has been violated — as the Royal Commission recommended.

And the penalty is ludicrous — a maximum of $1,000. At that rate breaking the law is good business: the amount by which women are underpaid normally runs to several thousand a year. Tastefully framed, the law will adorn many a corporate boardroom. Whether it will change much for women workers is less certain.

Secondly, the bill proposes maternity leave of 17 weeks after one year of service, with a guarantee of a job after the leave, and unemployment benefits for 15 of those weeks (two-thirds of earnings or a minimum of $20 a week).

This is substantially the same as the commission's recommendations on this point.

Certainly, these two measures represent concessions. But they are sops — to convince women that the government is moving on their behalf. These are the only two measures that the government is willing to accept from the whole report! Surely this shows us the government's lack of seriousness; if they sincerely wanted to begin removing barriers to women's full participation in society, their first act would have been to wipe out the abortion laws and begin to set up abortion and birth-control clinics in every community. If women can't control pregnancy, all other gains they can make are in jeopardy.

Canadian women are justly cynical about the government's good intentions. Already in three provinces, committees of women have set themselves up to push independently for the implementation of the commission's recommendations.

On May 9, women across Canada will march for the most fundamental reform of all those in the report — free abortion on demand. Canadian women don't want any more studies and delays — we want action **now**, on the entire Commission report.

labor Challenge
#28 Mar 1971

w student solidarity with Quebec

Warm response to Chartrand tour

by Dick Fidler

Michel Chartrand, Montreal labor leader and a principal defendant in the current political trials, has just completed the main part of a cross-country speaking tour on behalf of Quebec political prisoners. The first such coordinated national action, Chartrand's tour featured the biggest meetings yet against the Quebec repression in almost every one of the 10 cities visited, from Vancouver to Halifax.

Chartrand spoke to an estimated 8,000 persons at public meetings, in addition to receiving extensive press, TV and radio coverage. Tour organizers report that everywhere the audiences were sympathetic to Chartrand's appeal.

Not least important, more than $600 was cleared in donations to the Quebec Movement for the Defense of Political Prisoners.

Chartrand's tour opened dramatically at the University of Saskatchewan in Saskatoon March 12 when he addressed a meeting of close to 700 students in the midst of an occupation and boycott to protest the firing of a university lecturer. The meeting passed with only four dissenting votes a resolution calling for immediate repeal of the Public Order Act and the dropping of charges against those arrested under the War Measures Act, and urging the Students' Union to forward 300 dollars to the Quebec defense fund.

Chartrand was later officially introduced at a Saskatoon City Park NDP constituency banquet attended by about 200 persons. An evening meeting sponsored by the Saskatoon Committee for the Defense of Democratic Rights — held in the Confederation Room of the Centennial Center! — drew about 300 persons.

On to Vancouver, where over 700 crowded into the Kitsilano High School auditorium, and over 100 had to be turned away.

The wide range of supporters was indicated by the platform representation — Hilda Thomas of the Committee to Defend Political Prisoners in Quebec which organized the meeting; John Laxton, former president of the B.C. NDP, who as a lawyer attended some sessions of the recent Montreal trials and has written up his observations in the Vancouver Sun; John Stanton of the B.C. Civil Liberties Association and Alderman Harry Rankin. The secretary of the Vancouver Labor Council, Paddy Neale, chaired the meeting.

Michel Chartrand

In Edmonton Chartrand addressed campus meetings of 400 (sponsored by the Student Union) and 150, and a Sunday night meeting of over 200. His tour arrangements in Edmonton were covered by the newly-formed Edmonton Committee to Defend Political Rights in Quebec.

A highlight of the tour was in Winnipeg, where the University of Manitoba meeting drew over 2,000 students who gave rounds of applause to Chartrand's denunciation of the "economic dictatorship" and Trudeau's attempts to suppress the Québecois struggle. An evening meeting in suburban St-Boniface was attended by over 500. Here, as in other cities, Chartrand was interviewed on a radio phone-in show — in this case, Jack Shapiro's Action Line on CJOB, which is reputed to reach half the early-morning radio listeners.

Chartrand received extensive coverage in both English and French language media, and was interviewed by Canadian Dimension. The tour led to the setting up of the Winnipeg Committee to Defend Civil Liberties.

An early-morning meeting at Brandon University March 17 drew about 200 interested students.

That same day, Chartrand flew to Kitchener-Waterloo, Ont., for a meeting of 700 at Waterloo Lutheran University. He was given several standing ovations. The chairman, Prof. Leo Johnson of the sponsoring Committee for a Citizens' Commission of Inquiry into the War Measures Act outlined the committee's plans to hold public hearings into the motivations and meaning of the government's action last fall.

In Hamilton the next night 800 persons, many of them trade unionists, packed the hall and no one left during Chartrand's marathon oration of close to two hours. The rally, sponsored by the Hamilton Committee to Defend Civil Liberties, was chaired by Harry Greenwood, secretary of the Stelco Steelworkers' Local 1005. Earlier, Chartrand had attended receptions at the Steelworkers' Center and the United Electrical Workers Hall. A statement of solidarity distributed at the evening meeting, signed by trade unionists in the Niagara Peninsula area, was headed up by the president of the St. Catharines Labor Council and leading executives in the big United Auto Workers Local 199.

Then on to the Maritimes. The meeting of 350 in Fredericton on Saturday night was the biggest campus meeting of the year. On Sunday, Chartrand spoke in French at a meeting in Moncton, the heart of Acadian country. The meeting, organized on one day's notice, drew 250 persons.

Chartrand also spoke at a local coffee-house, and was interviewed for CBC's French network. A defense committee was established; it will be holding another meeting for the Quebec labor leader on April 6.

Halifax meetings on March 22 drew

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crowds totalling over 400. They were sponsored by the Young Socialists, the "Waffle" group, and the newly-formed Halifax-Dartmouth Quebec Defense Committee.

At a hasty press conference in Montreal, on his way on to Ottawa for an evening meeting March 23, Chartrand presented over $600 to the Movement for the Defense of Quebec Political Prisoners on behalf of their English Canadian supporters. He told the 40 reporters present that a vital element in building this highly successful tour had been the Young Socialists.

Through radio phone-in shows, TV news and public affairs programs, video-taped interviews — including French TV and cable TV coverage in Manitoba, Moncton and Hamilton — Chartrand reached hundreds of thousands more people across the country. Everywhere he received extensive newspaper coverage.

The massive attendance of students at the meetings, and the participation of leading activists in the NDP and labor movements, indicate the broad scope of the developing movement in English Canada against the repression in Quebec. The enthusiastic response to Chartrand's denunciation of the Public Order Act and the "economic dictatorship" contrasts sharply with the passivity and even widespread support that initially met Trudeau's use of the War Measures Act. In the course of a few months, many people have turned against Trudeau's attempt to redbait and repress the Quebec nationalist movement.

According to Dr. Gustavo Tolentino, the Toronto psychiatrist who accompanied Chartrand, handling arrangements, on the western leg of his tour, the question periods revealed a remarkably widespread sympathy, particularly among youth, for the independentist movement. A common question concerned Chartrand's attitude to the Parti Quebecois. (His reply: "The PQ is not a socialist party; therefore I am not a member. However, because it calls for the independence of Quebec, it is supported by more and more Quebec working people. For them, the PQ must still prove itself.")

The cross-country coordination of the tour was handled by the Toronto Emergency Committee to Defend Political Rights in Quebec. Executive members of the committee travelled with Chartrand, cementing contacts with the various defense groups. Besides Tolentino, Bill Holdsworth handled the southern Ontario section of the tour, and Walter Davis went with Chartrand to the Maritimes.

The ECDPRQ has scheduled a mass meeting March 28 at Toronto's Convocation Hall for Chartrand and Robert Lemieux, leading defense lawyer and a co-defendant in the sedition and FLQ trials.

Unwinding near the end of his marathon 11-day tour, Michel Chartrand commented: "I am out of my reserve in Quebec and I have been speaking seditious speeches all over the country, to tell English Canada the truth about the situation in Quebec. They've all been taped by the RCMP."

Noting his "excellent" reception everywhere, the labor leader said: "Either people are reformed or broad-minded, but there were no eggs or tomatoes thrown." And he added: "I couldn't have toured under a better sponsorship organization."

No justice for Blacks in Sir George trials

As the trials of Black militants in Trinidad unfold, the bulk of the trials in Montreal, which sparked last year's Trinidad uprising, are still to get underway.

April 15 has now been set as the trial date for students arrested following the 1969 computer center fire at Sir George Williams University.

The students have accused the courts of delaying the trials for over two years to coerce them into accepting a prosecution "deal".

The charges arose out of a sit-in led by Black students against racism in Sir George. A large proportion of the arrested were West Indians. Solidarity actions in Trinidad with a group of the arrested who came to trial last year set off the revolutionary uprising there.

The prosecution has now presented its deal. Eleven of the charges are to be dropped in return for a guilty plea on the charge of illegal occupation of the computer center. Over 50 students have so far accepted the deal.

As for racist prejudice at Sir George, the accusations were summarily rejected by the university administration, and the problem remains unresolved.

labor Challenge

New radical mood

Young Socialists win campus polls

by Kate Alderdice

At Waterloo Lutheran University in Ontario, students carried a two-day strike for equal student representation on committees which decide on the teachers' contracts.

At the University of Victoria in B.C., 3,000 angry students brought their own sound system to a meeting called by university president Bruce Partridge to try to explain why he was purging fourteen faculty members.

In Saskatoon, hundreds of students are involved in a fight to get Professor John Richards rehired. Richards, an NDP candidate, was fired by the administration without explanation or right of appeal.

Political science students at McMaster University conducted a strike around demands for student power, and against the increasing Americanization of their department. In Quebec too, student protests are mushroomong. Edmonton, St. Catherines, Toronto, Halifax — all have had similar protests in the recent past.

It's happening everywhere! The last two months have witnessed an outburst of student protests unparalleled in the last two years, all of them demanding the right of students to control the institutions of their own education. At the same time there has been a growing response among students to women's liberation, the movement against the war in Southeast Asia, a growing dissatisfaction with all the inequities of capitalism.

In every one of the campus protests, the Young Socialists/ Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes has played an important role.

In the Waterloo Lutheran parity struggle, Young Socialists were able to convince students to continue the fight against the opposition of the student council, which was ready to drop the whole thing.

In Quebec, the CEGEP Vieux Montréal has been the scene of a continuing battle between students on the one hand, and administration and police on the other.

The Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes has played an active role in the struggle, distributed leaflets explaining its views, and was recently elected to the student steering committee.

At the same time as all this, the YS/ LJS was instrumental in helping to carry off a cross-country tour by Michel Chartrand, leading defendant in the Quebec political trials. Chartrand's tour received a tremendous response on campuses across Canada, with meetings of 500-2,000.

But the new spirit of students, and their interest in socialist ideas is most evident in the response to election campaigns run by Young Socialist candidates on campuses from Fredericton to Vancouver. At York University in Toronto, the YS campaign shook up the whole campus. The student newspaper Excalibur gave critical support to the campaign, and one candidate was elected by acclamation. Bryan Belfont and Terry Fobert, candidates for president and vice-president, got 25-30 percent of the votes.

At University of Toronto, where Young Socialists had just participated in another parity struggle, Alice Klein, candidate for president, and Katie Curtin, vice-president, doubled the YS vote of last year and swept the school of architecture.

The U of T campaigners put up a thousand posters calling for "Parity with Power — Student-Faculty Control" and a "Women's Liberation University"; and published a special edition of the "liberated" Varsity (U of T student council paper) calling on students to vote socialist.

And then came the victories! At the University of British Columbia Young Socialist Joan Campana was elected ombudswoman, the first in the campus's history. In the college elections at Trent University in Peterborough, three YSD candidates captured the presidency, and first and second vice-presidency of Champlain College, the most important in the university. The elected candidates were part of a slate which contested positions in all four Trent colleges.

Why did Champlain College students vote socialist? Said Doug Croker, newly elected president, "It shows that students aren't afraid to accept radical ideas. And it shows that they've become so concerned and apprehensive about what is happening, that they want the alternative — the power to control their lives."

And in case you think that was an accident, the students of Simon Fraser University in Vancouver just voted themselves a socialist president. Young Socialist candidate Linda Meissenheimer beat out the incumbent there. Why did she win? Because "our program is the one that can lead students into action." Meissenheimer campaigned for an end to the war in Indochina, for women's liberation, self-determination for Quebec, and student-staff-faculty control of the university.

The election victories are just part of the growing influence of the Young Socialists / Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes. In the three months since the beginning of the school term, seven new locals of the YS LJS have been set up. It's obvious that what the Young Socialists have to say, more and more students want to hear. The next big campaigns the Young Socialists will be organizing for will be the April 24-25 days of protest against the war in Southeast Asia and May 9 actions for free abortion on demand. At the same time a drive will be launched to win new Young Socialists in a concerted campaign right across the country. We're going to make sure that those thousands of students get involved in the struggle for a socialist Canada — and that the YS LJS becomes a mass revolutionary socialist youth movement in this country.

THE liberated
varsity
OFFICIAL PUBLICATION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO YOUNG SOCIALISTS ELECTION CAMPAIGN
SAC Elections March 17 · 18
Vote Young Socialist!

CAMPAIGNING FOR SOCIALISM. "Liberated Varsity" (take-off on the campus newspaper) presented the Young Socialist election program at the University of Toronto.

labor Challenge #28 Mar 1971

World protests hit trials of Czech 'Trotskyists'

The trials of nineteen young Czechoslovaks accused of promoting "Trotskyist" ideas have come to an end, with sentences ranging from one to four years imprisonment imposed on the defendants.

Peter Uhl, one of the key defendants and accused of writing the manifesto of the Revolutionary Socialist Party which called for opposition to the Czech bureaucracy while defending socialism, was given the stiffest sentence.

The trial gave rise to broad opposition from left-wing forces internationally.

In Berne, Switzerland, revolutionists occupied the Prague embassy calling for freedom for the defendants and expressing solidarity with the revolutionists imprisoned for their views.

In New York City, a broadly-sponsored demonstration held in front of the Czechoslovak mission March 11 featured placards demanding "Free expression for all socialist views," "Stop the trial," "Bureaucracy, No! Socialism, Yes!" and "Free the Prague 19."

In Paris members of the Trotskyist Ligue Communiste staged a lightning-quick occupation of the Czech embassy one day in February, and Alain Krivine, the Ligue's candidate in the 1969 French presidential elections, held a press conference inside the building in solidarity with the Prague defendants.

These actions dramatically underscore the need to organize solidarity actions with the defendants whose trials have nothing in common with the principles of socialist democracy and violate the most basic democratic rights.

For example, though accused of "subversion" because of their ideas (one of the incriminating pieces of evidence was a book belonging to a defendant!), the nineteen accused were prevented from explaining their views. In addition, members of the public, including relatives of an earlier purge victim, Rudolf Slansky, were prevented from observing the trial on the pretext that "the courtroom would overflow."

The demonstrations of solidarity and the wide publicity won for the defendants may have played a role in preventing even harsher sentences. Widespread protests and publicity may force the Czechoslovak bureaucrats in the future to reconsider their continuing victimization of socialist dissidents and free the ones now imprisoned.

advertisement

Contact socialists in your area

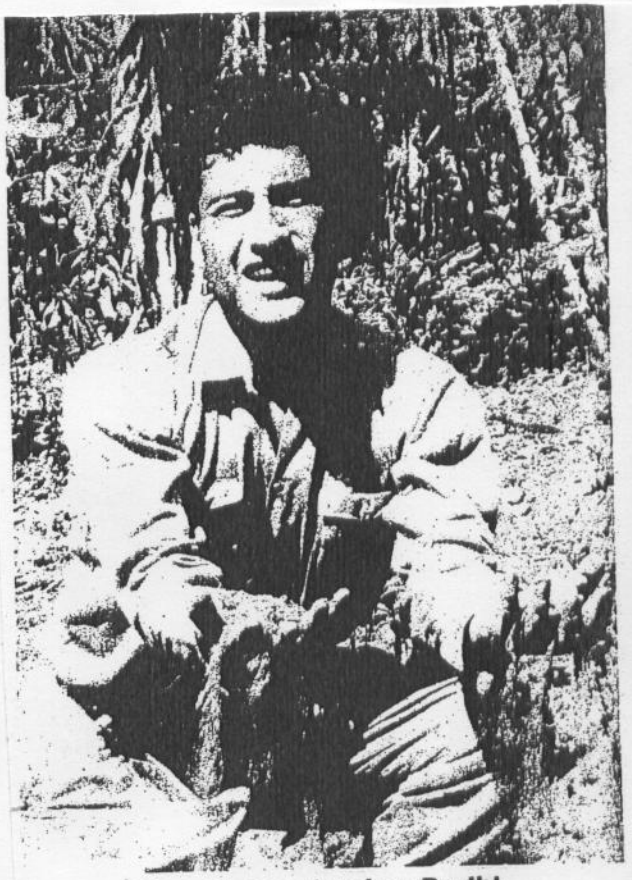
BLACK'S HARBOUR, N.B., YS, c/o Esmond Cavanaugh.
BRANDON, Man., YS, Box 95, Brandon University.
EDMONTON, Alta., LSA/YS, 9686 Jasper Ave., 424-7644.
FREDERICTON, N.B., YS, Box 1521, 454-9270.
GUELPH, Ont., YS, c/o Jim Onyschuk, 108 Woolwich, 822-1035.
HALIFAX, N.S., YS, 2587 Robie St., 422-9836.
HAMILTON, Ont., LSA, YS, 41 King William, Rm. 23, 528-2060.
KITCHENER, Ont., LSA, YS, Box 921.
LONDON, Ont., YS, 580 Talbot, #2, 672-4695
MONTREAL, Que., Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes, 226 est, rue Ste-Catherine, 861-3018.
ORILLIA, Ont., LSA, Box 835.
OTTAWA, Ont., LSA, YS, 788 Somerset W., 232-9945.
PETERBOROUGH, Ont., c/o Bob Tapscott, Champlain College Res., Trent University, 745-8997.
REGINA, Sask., YS, Box 623.
RICHMOND HILL, Ont., LSA, Box 281.
TORONTO, Ont., LSA, YS, 334 Queen St. W., 363-9618 or 364-5908.
SACKVILLE, N.B., YS, c/o Bob Thomas, Box 1123.
SAINT JOHN, N.B., YS, c/o Nancy Ouellette, 512 Havelock St., West Saint John.
SASKATOON, Sask., LSA, YS, Box 704, 242-8175.
SUDBURY, Ont., LSA, YS, Box 691.
ST. CATHARINES, Ont., LSA, Box 622.
ST. JOHN'S, Nfld., YS, c/o Gord Stone, Box 2063.
VANCOUVER, B.C., LSA, YS, 1208 Granville St., 688-5924.
VICTORIA, B.C., YS, c/o Cliff Mack, 2713 Rock Bay Ave.
WINNIPEG, Man., LSA, YS, 211 Graham Ave., 943-7791.

LEAGUE FOR SOCIALIST ACTION
YOUNG SOCIALISTS

Béjar, Gadea, Blanco

INTERVIEW WITH JAILED PERUVIAN REVOLUTIONARIES

(*Labor Challenge*, March 9, 1970)



Hugo Blanco: Land or Death!

labor Challenge
#19 Nov 1970

Blanco on Latin America

To win, we must reach the masses

#28-Mar 1971

labor Challenge

Hugo Blanco on strategy for workers' power

Socialist strategy: an interview

Hugo Blanco on strategy for workers' power

(From Labor Challenge March 1971)

The Peruvian revolutionary leader Hugo Blanco was released in December 1970 from the notorious prison El Fronton, culminating a worldwide campaign for his freedom. In the years prior to his capture and arrest in 1963, Blanco became well-known in Latin America for his successful efforts to organize peasants in the La Convencion valley of Peru in a powerful movement around the slogan Tierra o Muerta — Land or Death!

We are reprinting here extensive excerpts from an interview Blanco granted Jan. 1 to the monthly magazine Libertad*, dealing with such topics as the nature of the Peruvian military regime, and the Tupamaros urban guerrillas in Uruguay.*

1) Socialist strategy – an interview

Q. Could you give us a resume of your life as a guerrilla in the armed struggle waged in the valley of La Convencion?

A. The term "guerrilla" is only partially applicable in my case. Although I was a guerrilla, that was only one of my functions - as a revolutionist, which I consider a more comprehensive and appropriate term.

As a revolutionary activist, I knew that there was no peaceful solution to the problems of the peasantry. But despite this, starting off from minimum demands, working by peaceful means through the peasant union movement to mobilize the masses, I went through the peasants' experience with them for several years. It was inevitable that the peasants would become convinced of the need for physical force when their attempts to achieve a peaceful solution to their problems were blocked.

I realized that the peasants had to learn by their own experience because the "liberation of the workers will be the act of the workers themselves."

I was convinced that the peasants must not be just a base of support but the material and intellectual agent of their liberation. Therefore, I went through the peasants' experience with them, from the lowest level to the point where they came to understand the need for armed struggle, as the only possible means not only for achieving their liberation but just to hold back repression.

Q. What do you think about the junta's revolutionary measures?

A. Imperialism, which was formerly distinguished by its attempt to keep the colonial and semicolonial countries as producers of raw materials and importers

of manufactured goods, has changed in this respect, owing to numerous factors. Among these I could point to the big worldwide industrial expansion, intensified, for example, by the uninterrupted technological development generated by the arms race.

This technological development has been decisive in making industrial installations obsolete almost as soon as they are built.

But let's take time out here. Stop writing and let me think how to put this. That way you'll see more clearly what the real picture is and what the reason was for the junta's reformist measures.

(Several minutes passed, and then Hugo said. 'Now, compadre, let's go on.")

Imperialism has an urgent need for more extensive markets for its manufactured goods and machinery. The purpose of this neocapitalist policy is served by an agrarian reform that would create an extensive layer of small agricultural proprietors capable of absorbing the consumer goods, exports of the imperialist countries.

Industrialization of our countries also suits the purposes of this policy. In this way they can absorb the imperialists' machinery exports. This is true even if the industrial concerns that carry out this development in our country are not imperialist but national or even state-owned companies.

The reforms instituted by the Junta Militar (military junta) fit into the context of this general policy of imperialist neocapitalism. This is true not only of the specifically economic measures like the agrarian reform, which is aimed at creating layers of consumers of industrial products; or the industrial development law, which is aimed at promoting this development for the benefit of the bosses. It is also true of the educational reform. The purpose of this measure is to provide skilled workers, such as lathe operators for example, that is, industrial slaves instead of illiterate Indian serfs of the landlords.

Besides these fundamental economic reasons for the government's reformist measures, there are political reasons. Not just the desarrollista (pro-development) sectors but the most astute elements of all the exploiting sectors understand that the previous situation in our country could not be maintained, that the danger of a genuine popular revolution was imminent.

Q. Has any law instituted by the military government gone beyond the bounds of the capitalist system?

A. Not one.

Q. What do you think about the policy of the Cuban government toward the development in Peru?

A. That it represents an unfortunate capitulation to the pressure of the Soviet bureaucracy.

Q. What do you think of the Tupamaros?

A. I admire their valor but I disagree with their methods. Their actions are isolated from the immediate struggle of the masses. The courage, discipline, and other qualities of these comrades would make them valuable leaders of the mass movement and they would find their effectiveness infinitely increased.

Q. This said, can we consider their activity an advance in revolutionary strategy?

A. As far as tactics go, they are making many valuable contributions but in strategy they fall below the level of revolutionary science reached by Leninism.

Q. What chance do you think the Tupamaros have of winning?

A. I place my trust in the Uruguayan people, fundamentally in its working class. It is they who will win. The Tupamaros are only one more factor, a contradictory one, in this struggle.

Q. What historical significance does the Peruvian process have in the context of the Latin-American revolutionary ferment?

A. It is one of the last desperate efforts of a condemned system to divert the people from making their real revolution.

Q. What are your immediate and long-range plans?

A. Over the long term I intend to continue fighting for the world socialist revolution in the ranks of the Fourth International. Right now I am going to fight without letup until they apply the general amnesty law and release my teacher and comrade Eduardo Creus and the eight peasant leaders still imprisoned in the Cuzco jail, as well as the rest of the political and social prisoners who remain behind bars. *(Creus has since been released — LC Ed.)*

Q. How do you feel about the life you have chosen, devoting your life to the revolution?

A. I am doing my duty as a man in this epoch.

Q. Would you prefer not to have been born in this stage of history?

[Thi]s is the best age to be born in.

Q. Would you like to have been born the age of socialism or communism?

A. I think that it is best to have been born in the age of permanent revolution.

2. Why we fight to win workers control

The second article on workers control was written in November 1970 in prison.

El Fronton Prison

We Trotskyists, I should like to stress, work with a transitional program, that is, through slogans that, while based on the present understanding of the exploited classes, are designed to raise their consciousness to the level of comprehending socialist principles and the need for taking power.

One of the planks in this program is workers control of production. This slogan is aimed at helping the workers understand that they are the essential element in production and that they must take command over this process and direct it in accordance with their own interests and those of the people as a whole.

Ultimately the working class must see taking control of production can be only by completely expropriating the capitalists, a reality which only a small minority realize at present. But it is easy for large sectors of workers to understand right now that they can and must curb the arbitrary policies of the capitalists, which are aimed at making profits for big business at the expense of the working class and the people in general.

As aspects of workers control, we demand the right for the workers organizations to plan and regulate industrial production. We demand opening up the management's books in order to permit a check on costs and profits. We demand the right of veto over all changes in the basic industrial plant or in the productive process, as well as over firings and similar actions."

We demand workers control over the various aspects of production in order to curb the arbitrary abuses of the bosses, but we refuse to take responsibility for the productive process as long as the workers do not hold political and economic power.

Thus we see that there is a profound difference between workers control as proposed by the Trotskyists and the "participation in plant management" cited in the 'Ley de Communidad Industrial' (Industrial Community Law). We must clearly expose this law as a bourgeois measure intended to lull the workers to sleep by making them believe that they are part owners of the means of production. The objective of this law is to make it possible to exploit the workers more effectively and carry through the scheme of the bourgeois developers by sweating and starving the proletariat.

But along with this we must note that the working class unfortunately does not yet understand the antiworking-class character of this law, and a great majority of the workers have placed their hopes on it.

It is a sectarian attitude to propose boycotting the Communidad Industrial provisions when the masses place their hopes in them. We are opposed to the "participationism" this law signifies. But the crucial fact at present as regards this measure is that it has aroused sympathy in the working class. Projecting a boycott in this case is like proposing a boycott of any bourgeois institution in which the masses have illusions, like calling for a "boycott" of the Ministry of Labor because it is a bourgeois instrument.

It is on the basis of the present situation that we must develop our struggle to educate the masses through transitional slogans, not by turning our backs on the masses.

Let us demand opening of the books, veto over firings, the right to oust foremen and supervisory personnel, the right of veto over changes in the productive process, etc. Let us use the proposals of the "Communidad Industrial" law to press our demands. Parallel to this, we must reject all responsibility for plant operations, pointing out that the workers cannot be considered responsible for this as long as the entire productive process is not in their hands.

There are some revolutionists who say that we must not create "illusions about workers control," claiming that it cannot exist prior to taking power. They do not seem to understand that we are talking about control in the sense of keeping a check on, not of ruling. When the working class takes power, it will not only "control" or "keep checks on," but command, take the entire productive process in its hands, and planning first of all.

It is untrue that workers control cannot exist before the workers take power; it emerges precisely in the process of this struggle. It is one of the symptoms of dual power, which arises when the momentum of the proletariat has carried it close to the point of taking power, but the bourgeoisie is not yet defeated.

This phenomenon has been attested by history in Russia in 1917, in Bolivia in 1952, and in France in 1968.

Of course such a situation is precarious and fleeting; it represents an unstable balance in revolutionary or prerevolutionary times when the workers are struggling to oust the bourgeoisie completely, while the bourgeoisie struggles to regain full sway.

We must not abandon the workers to the participationists. Step by step we must counter these demagogues with specific demands for workers control.

(end)

labor Challenge #28 Mar 1971

Labor Challenge fund drive

Pledges pour in, lift goal to $16,000

What makes this paper different from the others

by Dick Fidler

We all read daily newspapers, listen to the radio, watch TV. They lie to us. But at least they give us an up-to-the-minute inkling of what's happening in the world. The media are crammed with material on everything from hockey scores to the latest U.S. setback in Southeast Asia.

But everyone knows there's something radically wrong with the mass media in this country. Even the Senate got into the act recently. After spending millions of our money holding hearings and hiring experts, the Senators came up with a report two-thirds the length of the Bible. They expressed concern at the lack of quality, the inadequate coverage, the growing monopoly control of the media. But all they came up with were milquetoast proposals that the press police itself, that the government regulate further monopolization, and the like.

Such proposals completely miss the mark. Maybe we can't blame the Senators for avoiding the obvious, but what's wrong with the "bourgeois press," as it's often called, is precisely ... that it's **bourgeois**. That is, the "mass media" doesn't speak for the mass of people — labor, students women, Quebecois, Native peoples, etc.

In these days of growing radicalization, we hear a lot of talk about the "alternative press." That's what Labor Challenge is. Not that we pretend — or try — to substitute for the bourgeois press. Our sports section is as yet non-existent, our movie reviews sporadic — although our labor and NDP coverage, while far too scanty, is at least honest, and our women's coverage — women's liberation, that is — not bad at all.

But we are an alternative. We don't just analyze news you read elsewhere, or give you news you don't read elsewhere on the radical movement, important as those aspects are. Labor Challenge is an alternative because we're an activists' paper, a press whose whole purpose is to further the struggle to do away with the system upheld by the bourgeois press. We are critical commentators, organizers, and mobilizers, and we, alone among all the press in this country, have the information and orientation that is vital to you in the most important thing that's going in the world today, the struggle for socialism.

by The Editors

Inspiring days for socialists! New awakenings of radicalism, new manifestations of protest, a new interest and sympathy for socialist views.

Events of the past few weeks are showing that the political freeze-up following the shock of the War Measures Act is giving way, opening new possibilities for the left if we know how to use them.

Evidence? Take a look through this issue of Labor Challenge. Jammed halls across the country to cheer the nationalist views of Michel Chartrand. Never before have we seen such widespread, explicit support for the upsurge in Quebec. A new rise of the student movement, which was long ago pronounced dead in the capitalist press. The election of Young Socialist candidates to student councils in a growing range of campuses.

That's what our Labor Challenge fund drive was all about: to arm and prepare us for the challenge of this radicalization.

Still we must admit that the response to our appeal last issue has been a rude awakening.

St. Catharines supporters wrote back: "Your suggestion that we might raise $300 is an insult to our city. We ask that you double our fund drive quota."

Vancouver supporters also brushed off the suggested goal of $3,500 with some disdain. "Readers here have already pledged $3,700," our Vancouver correspondent writes. "Put us down for $4,500 — and we may well hit $5,000."

And that's typical of the response. Montreal, with an original quota of $250, have $200 in pledges, and will go over. Toronto: quota $7,400, pledges $3,980, will go over. Hamilton: quota $400, pledges $350, will go over.

Two weeks ago we set a goal of $14,750 — already it has to be raised — to $16,000.

There's no mistaking the message. Our readers want a better, more effective Labor Challenge, and they're going to find the money to make it possible.

We agree. It's time to shake ourselves out of some comfortable routines, raise our sights, and get in step with the new radicalization.

We're confident every area can come through in full and on time — $16,000 by May 1st!

14 regions take on fund drive quotas

Alberta	$ 900
British Columbia	4,500
Hamilton	400
Kitchener	150
Manitoba	100
Montreal	250
New Brunswick	100
Orillia	100
Ottawa	150
Richmond Hill	300
St. Catharines	600
Saskatchewan	250
Sudbury	200
Toronto	7,400
General	600
TOTAL	$16,000

labor Challenge #28 Mar 1971

Educational parleys reveal growth of YS

by Joe Young

"The growth of the Young Socialists in the Atlantic region is a logical outgrowth of the development of the student movement. Only the Young Socialists have been able to combine an accurate analysis of the region with a coherent program of action."

These words of Terry Hamilton-Smith, newly elected Atlantic regional coordinator of the Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes, express the great steps forward that the YS has been taking in the past period.

Hamilton-Smith was addressing the Atlantic Socialist Students Conference which brought together in Halifax 75 student youth from across the Atlantic region on March 13-14. It was the first conference of its kind in the history of the region, and one of three regional socialist educational conferences held across Canada this month.

The conference was a clear indication of how far the Young Socialists have come — from a couple of members a year ago to four established groups and active members in three other areas. The possibility of the YS/LJS filling the vacuum of Atlantic political life is very real.

Four days later and 4,000 miles away, a Socialist Students Conference was held at Vancouver City College, initiated by the Young Socialists and sponsored by the Student's Council, NDP club, the Student Liberals(!), the Women's Liberation group, the VCC Vietnam Action Committee and the VCC Socialists. The conference was attended by 125 persons.

A speaker for the VCC Socialists surprised the meeting by announcing that his club was dissolving into the Young Socialists. VCC Student Council spokesman, David Spanner, declared Council's support for the YS. "We know," he said, "that the future of Canada will be socialist. That's why we support the YS with funds and however else we can."

Terry Hamilton-Smith, Young Socialist Atlantic province coordinator.

The two main speeches were by SFU teaching assistant Beverly Bernardo, speaking on "A Socialist Strategy for Student Action," and Gary Porter, Vancouver Organizer of the League for Socialist Action, on "The Need to Build a Revolutionary Socialist Organization."

The day after the Vancouver conference, a Southern Ontario Socialist Educational weekend opened in Toronto with a participation of 120 persons. The conference featured a talk by Katie Curtin on the history of the suffragist movement in Canada. John Steele, acting executive secretary of the LSA/LSO, stressed in his talk the crucial role that youth are playing in building the leadership of the revolutionary movement.

The success of these three Socialist Conferences certainly confirms Steele's projection of a future of rapidly excalating growth for the YS LJS in face of the crisis of youth under capitalism.

Socialism and Women's Liberation

-a reply to a letter of Corileen North and Yvonne Trower, formerly of Toronto Women's Caucus, by the Women's Commission of the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere, and the Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes.

Three days ago the daily press published a letter by Corileen North and Yvonne Trower, two founding members of the Toronto Women's Caucus, who have since become inactive. The letter was also circulated "to the women's liberation movement throughout North America and Great Britain". It raises serious questions about the non-exclusionist, democratic character of the women's liberation movement. It charges that the Toronto Women's Caucus (TWC), one of the larger and more active women's liberation organizations in Canada, is being destroyed by the subversive takeover of the group by a "small but disciplined radical group" which is "male-oriented". The group? ...the women of the Young Socialists and the League for Socialist Action.

This five-page letter, with its quotations from documents, all suspicious words underlined, and its insinuations that this is just one of many attacks against the "Trotskyists" taking place in the women's liberation movement on this continent, can be summed up in one word--red-baiting.

For all the insistence that the authors do not disagree with the perspective of building a mass women's liberation movement that can involve all women in action around demands that touch their lives, the letter represents one of the most common methods of dismissing ideas and people that are too much trouble to deal w ith. The authors state that they're not against socialism. Then they go on to build their case that socialism and women's liberation are incompatible.

The main elements of their case a re that the socialist women of the LSA and YS push their mass perspective in the TWC; encourage women members of their organization to join the TWC and work to become leaders of it; try to convince other women's liberationists to become socialists and join their organizations; caucus separately and work to carry out the decisions of their caucus.

Such charges! They can only be taken seriously if one assumes 1. that socialism and women's liberation are at odds; 2. that the women of the LSA and YS, unlike other women, are not really oppressed, in fact are not really women, but something else called "Trotskyists"; and 3. that the other women of the women's liberation movement are sub-intelligent dupes who let these "male-oriented" robots walk all over them.

Ludicrous as it is when examined, this red-baiting is a traditiom l method of attack against radical movements--by the ruling class of this country, the same ones who maintain the oppression of women. The non-exclusionist, democratic character of the TWC has always been its strength. Trower, North, and the editors of the Toronto Telegram will be disappointed if they expect to see any division of the women's liberation movement in the face of this attack.

We, women of the YS and LSA, are socialists and women's liberationists. We see no contradiction. Our Marxism enables us to see that the oppression of women is at the very root of this system . This, far from dividing our loyalties, teaches us how to fight against our oppression. We know that we must wipe this system of

oppression off the face of this earth and build a society based on human liberation. In the short history of the women's movement we have caught glimpses of the impact that the ideas of women's liberation can have when it moves out with bold mass actions. The mass women's liberation movement that will shatter the smug complacency of Trudeau and his boys is a powerful part of the movement to uproot this rotten society.

What kind of a women's liberation movement are socialist women working to build? We are building a movement where women who have been denied their humanity for centuries can learn how to organize against their oppression. Together they can develop their abilities and understanding. This movement must be open to all women and must make itself visible through action in the streets around the many specific demands of women. Such a movement points the finger at the real oppressors of women-- the rulers of Canada, their governments, institutions, etc.

We women of the Young Socialists and League for Socialist Action have dedicated our lives to changing society. This dedication could be called "selfish". We want to be liberated. In our whole beings, every moment of our lives, we feel our oppression as women. This oppression only deepens our determination to struggle for a new society. We know that such a society can be built and this gives us our perspective as strong women's liberationists. We want to win all women to this perspective. That is why we organize to win women to revolutionary socialism. To fail to do so would be neglecting our responsibilities as socialists and as women.

We don't insist that all women who want to join the women's movement must first be socialists and realize the necessity of a more general struggle including both sexes. This would narrow the movement disastrously. But we do insist on our right to put forward our socialist ideas and attempt to win women to them and our organization. If Trower and North object to us doing so it can only be because they object to these aims but fear debating them with us. To attack us for being "male-oriented" because we realize the struggle to change society must include both sexes is downright ridiculous! By such logic all women who work, live or participate in any activities with men should be discouraged from belonging to the movement because they are male-oriented.

We view the women's liberation movement as a profoundly revolutionary development, challenging the fundamental premises of this society. Its demands such as 24 hour child care, free abortion on demand, etc. point in the direction of a complete reorganization of society where the welfare of humans is put before the accumulation of profits by a handful of men. The women's liberation movement is for us an essential part of the struggle that will decide the fate of womankind and mankind. We feel saddened that these two sisters have decided to put this struggle aside for the time being. We don't ask for guarantees that there will be no problems in this struggle. But the stakes are high and we won't rest until we have won human liberation.

April 1, 1971.

For further information write 334 Queen St. W. Toronto or phone 363-9618.

ROSS

F.I. Minutes Vol. 1 No. 2

MINUTES OF THE UNITED SECRETARIAT APRIL 17-18, 1971

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Present: Walter, Pierre, Sandor, Vergeat, Livio, Peterson, Pia, Juan, Charlier

Visitors: Kent, Bandar

Finance Commission: Martine

Agenda: Civisl war in Pakistan
- 24th Congress of the CPSU
- Government change in Argentina, Chilian ElectiOn results and other Latin-American questions
- Appeal from Austria
- Development of workers struggles in Britain
- Anti-war demonstrations
- Turin Conference
- The Ceylon Crisis
- Summer activities program
- German and Swiss conferences
- Commission reports
- Bureau reports
- Finances
- Publications
- Correction of minutes

1. Civil war in Pakistan Ghulam anable to attend, so Vergeat opened the discussion with an informal report of recent developments around a draft statement forwarded by Ghulam. It was generally agreed to develop it further along the lines of various contributions; in particular the Awami league's attempts to head off the struggle with its policy of autonomy within the Pakistani state instead of independence; the treachery of the Chinese bureaucracy's support of the Pakistan bourgeoisie's murderous assault on the Bengali masses; the role of US imperialism, etc. Peterson presented an extended draft.
   Motion: That editorial commission composed of Juan and Walter edit Ghulam-Petersen draft, consulting Ghulam for his agreement. Carried
   Statement already sent out.
2. 24th congress of CPSU (USSR) Report by Walter. Congress reacted to fear of unrest by greater allocation of funds to the development of production of consumer goods. For the first time in history rate of growth of consumer goods industry greater than rate of growth of heavy industry. Congress also marked a significant attempt on the part of the leadership of the CPSU to patch up differences in world stalinist movement and reestablish better relations with CP leaderships in Europe.
3. Government change in Argentina, Chilean election results and various Latin-American questions Livio reported on latest military coup in Argentina. General Lanusse is said to have assepted return of Peron. This

would mean an attempt to canalyze rising mass revolt into reformist channels, but would imply big risks for ruling class, both economic (because it would request serious economic concessions to the masses) and political (because the masses would interpret it as a victory for them, which would stimulate their militancy). If all this occurs (which is still far from certain), a reappraisal of tactics would be needed.

Chilean municipal elections results show increasing support for Allende, making it more difficult for the right to consider a coup d'état in the immediate period.

Enquiries by Juan in relation with letter signed Domingo.
Motion: That copies of that letter be made available to the United Secretariat. Carried

Wa lter reported on proposal for Latin-American conference of revolutionary organizations submitted to us by groups outside our movement. It was agreed to check further before acting.

4. Turin conference (Italy) Livio reported. The Conference of workers from the European sections and the public rally a big success. Basic as reported in Press.
Motion: That the next meeting on our European trade union activities be of a more restricted character - limited to 2 or 3 leading cadres from each section so that it can discuss in more detail the direction and coordination of our work -- that it be more in the line of a working conference.

5. Appeal by Austrian militants to United Secretariat

Pia reported on appeal received from comrade expelled from Austrian section and two co-thinkers.
Motion: 1) To write to expelled comrade rejecting appeal (expulsion due to gross violation of discipline) and calling for self-criticism. 2) To write to section accepting validity of expulsion but indicating mistakes in procedure. 3)That commission, composed of Pia, Martine and Charlier drafts both letters. Carried

6. Development of workers struggles in Britain

Peterson reported. Document of Trasury confirms recession. Unemployment and excess capacity will probably grow through 1971. This leads to stepping up of attacks against the working class. After defeat of postal strike, refusal of TUC to organize industrial action against anti-union bill and retreat of Scanlon-Jones before TUC right wing, temporary downturn of strikes confirmed. The strangling of Ford strike was big betrayal by Scanlon-Jones. But Tory government had to pay a heavy price: wage explosion continues. Opposition inside CP against uncritical bloc with Scanlon-JOnes grows.

7. Anti-war demonstrations

Juan reported on expected dimensions of April 24 anti-war demonstrations. Larger participation of organized unionists and black militants probable. Nixon's Calley speech has increased size of demonstration, but Peking's ping-pong diplomacy's timing diverts attention from anti-war struggle.
Reports on expected international actions in Canada, New Zealand, Australia, Japan, Germany, Belgium, Britain, France, Italy.
Motion: Balance-sheet of demonstrations to be sent out by Secretariat after receiving appraisal from American co-thinkers. Carried

8. Ceylon crisis

Bandar reported on evaluation of events which, from growing mass discontent with coalition government over government provocation on March 6 led to uprisings. Proposes to make ample information on these developments immediate available to sections. Submits draft of United Secretariat declaration on events.
Motion: To have an editing commission composed of Walter and Juan edit final version of this draft, along the lines of the discussion. Carried
Statement and information already sent out.

9. Summer activities program

Walter reports on preparation for French language cadre school July 17-25. School will end wi th work shops on teachers work, student work, high-school student work, apprendices work, factory work, anti-imperialist work.
English language cadre school July 25th to 31st; German language cadre school in October.
Discussion on projected meeting of the IEC sometime in october. Projected agenda: discussion of two documents: Balance sheet and perspective of the Arab Revolution by Vergeat; Draft Program of the Fourth International by Juan, Pierre and Walter; Discussion of oral report on Developments in South East Asia.

10. German and Swiss conferences

a) Martine reports on German section's conference. Showed serious progress in fuction of political character of discussion and decision to establish firm national center of organization.
Main discussion turned around the question of the nature of the youth organization. The decision was adopted to build a national cadre youth organization on the basis of democratic centralism. It was projected to fuse that organization with the section within 2-3 years time and then to build a youth mass organization.
Conference also produced remarkable material on factory and apprendices work.

b) Pia reported on the conference called by the Ligue Marxiste Révolutionnaire. Assimilation of the best elements from the Groupe Rouge of Geneva. The founding congress of the national organization itself will be held later in September-October. The conference, with attendance of 200, was a big success testifying particularly to a high level of activity. Among the major reports were the political and economic situation in Switzerland, student work in the high schools and universities, and work towards the factories. Preparations are underway to strengthen connections in the German part of the country, where most of the heavy industry is concentrated.

11. Commission Reports

a) East European Commission report by Kurt, on projected conference, publications, trips.
b) Arab Commission report by Vergeat, on projected conference, bookshop and trips. Problems re regulation of Arab magazine.

12. Bureau Report

Walter reports on correspondence regarding South African Defense work and correspondence from Mexico, New Zealand, Puerto Rico, Angola. Also reported on visit to Holland; on Swedish cadre school, on expansion of work in Scandinavia.

Paris Commune Statement by Pierre.
Motion: To turn over to editorial commission, composed of Juan and Walter. Carried

Prague Trial: Five LP MP's have joined protest widening our possibilities of further actions.

13. Finances: Report by Martine on rising and regularization of receipts, Contribution coming in in answer to Bangal appeal. Report on World Congress campaign.
East European Literature fund drive of last year still not over and somewhat static.
Motion: That new letter both on the East European Drive and the World Congress campaign be sent out to the countries concerned. Carried

14. Publications: Martine reported on publication and response to the first issue of the new information bulletin of the United Secretariat in German language, IMPREKORR. Second issue out now. Bulletin for the fime being a monthly, but projected as fourthnightly. Copies (DM -.50 or $ -.15) can be ordered at: Ingo Speidel, 7 Stuttgart 60, Wallmerstrasse 45, West-Germany.

Discussion on Intercontinental Press editorial policy.

15. Corrections of minutes: a) Minutes of U.S. of November 20, 1970, Point 2 d): to be deleted.
b) Minutes of U.S. of March 20-21,71. Point 10: Motion on Uruguay statement. Vote was: 6 for, 1against (Livio), 1 Abstention (Adair), 1 refusal to vote (Pedro).

		Total cost of travel for delegation + contribution to central fund	Travel costs paid by delegation	Contribution to be forwarded to International Center as contribution to the travel pool	Subsidy from the international center to travel expenditure
	Algeria	$ 159.-	---	---	$ 159.-
2	Argentinia	$ 1980.-	$ 1780.-	$ 200.-	---
	Australia	$ 1235.-	$ 1235.-	---	---
	Austria	$ 100.-	$ 50.-	$ 50.-	---
5	Belgium	$ 750.-	$ 250.-	$ 500.-	---
2	Bolivia	$ 1800.-	---	---	$ 1800.-
?	Brasil	$ 830.-	$ 100.-	---	? $ 730.-
4	Britain	$ 1070.-	$ 320.-	$ 750.-	---
2	Canada	$ 1300.-	$ 800.-	$ 500.-	---
2	Ceylon	$ 1512.-	$ 200.-	---	? $ 1312.-
2	Chile	$ 2000.-	$ 1000.-	---	$ 1000.-
2	Columbia	$ 880.-	$ 100.-	---	? $ 780.-
	Cyprus	$ 320.-	$ 100.-	---	? $ 220.-
3	Danemark	$ 600.-	$ 300.-	$ 300.-	---
4	Four Eastern Europ. Countr.	$ 400.-	$ 200.-	---	$ 200.-
10	France	$ 7900.-	$ 400.-	$ 7500.-	---
4	Germany	$ 700.-	$ 200.-	$ 500.-	---
	Greece	$ 264.-	---	---	$ 264.-
	Hong Kong	$ 800.-	$ 800.-	---	---
2	India	$ 1607.-	---	---	$ 1607.-
	Iraq	$ 487.-	---	---	$ 487.-
	Israel	$ 320.-	$ 160.-	---	? $ 160.-
4	Italy	$ 700.-	$ 350.-	$ 350.-	---
2	Japan	$ 1300.-	$ 1300.-	---	---
	Jordania	$ 387.-	---	---	? $ 387.-
	Libanon	$ 378.-	---	---	? $ 378.-
2	Luxembourg	$ 350.-	$ 150.-	$ 200.	---
	Mexico	$ 720.-	$ 720.-	---	---
	New Zealand	$ 1256.-	$ 756.-	---	$ 500.-
	Nigeria	$ 549.-	---	---	? $ 549.-
	Pakistan	$ 760.-	---	---	$ 760.-
2	Perou	$ 1824.-	---	---	$ 1824.-
	Philippines	$ 1243.-	$ 243.-	---	? $ 1000.-
?	Santo Domingo	$ 730.-	$ 730.-	---	---
2	Spain	$ 300.-	$ 200.-	$ 100.-	---
2	Sweden	$ 650.-	$ 350.-	$ 300.-	---
4	Switzerland	$ 850.-	$ 100.-	$ 750.-	---
	Uruguay	$ 890.-	$ 100.-	---	? $ 790.-
5	USA	$ 8500.-	$ 2500.-	$ 6000.	---
	Venezuela	$ 780.-	$ 780.-	---	---
	Zambia	$ 751.-	---	---	? $ 751.-
	At large			$ 158.-	
	Total:	$ 49732.-	$ 16274.-	$ 18158.-	$ 15658.-
	Cost for Congress to be paid by Center				$ 2500.-
					$ 18158.-

(+) Approximate number of delegates

Laos rout builds war protest

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East Pakistan fights for independence

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Launch inquiry into war measures

Citizens' commission to query Quebec repression

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After rout of Laos invasion

Build April protest against U.S. war!

by The Editors

Liberation forces in Laos and Vietnam have dealt a devastating blow to U.S. military operations in Southeast Asia.

The highly-touted regiments of the Saigon regime, which Nixon had promised could carry the war on their own, were soundly defeated in Laos, suffering almost 50 percent casualties.

Recent days have seen a series of raids on U.S. bases throughout South Vietnam, which have inflicted the largest U.S. casualties in six months.

Nixon's "Vietnamization" program is in shambles. The morale of the Saigon regime's army is at an all time low.

And the morale of the American GIs is not much better. An army soldier told a U.S. reporter, "We don't want to be relieved — we want to get out of here."

The press reports of American GIs caucusing and voting on whether to obey an order or not, added to the impact of the defeat, has created a new atmosphere of antiwar feeling in the U.S. itself. A Gallup poll published shortly after the Laos debacle showed that 69 percent of Americans do not believe that Nixon is telling the truth.

The reaction to the verdict in the court martial of Lt. William Calley, for murder of civilians at Mylai, has added to the popular disaffection with Nixon and his war. The trial opened the eyes of millions to the real nature of the U.S. military, which taught Calley to hate and kill, sent him to Vietnam, then punished him for doing their dirty work.

The April 24-25 mobilizations against the war are the best opportunity the antiwar movement has ever had to translate the growing disillusionment with Nixon and his war, to active opposition.

The cross-Canada actions are part of a world wide protest of unprecedented scope on April 24-25. Demonstrations in Washington and San Francisco will probably be the largest in history.

Massive demonstrations on April 24-25 can block any desperate actions, like an invasion of North Vietnam, or the use of atomic weapons. They can also clearly demonstrate the popular opposition to the war, and force Nixon to pull out all his troops, warplanes and materiel from Southeast Asia.

Let's make the Canadian protests the most effective demonstration yet of solidarity with the Indochinese peoples' struggle for self-determination — for an end to Canada's complicity in the war and immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops.

All out April 24-25!

Join and build the antiwar demonstration in your area:

VANCOUVER

APRIL 24 - Assemble Thornton Park, 1 p.m., march to U.S. consulate for 3 p.m. rally. Info: Vietnam Action Committee, 2114 Main, Room 12, 879-7011.

EDMONTON

APRIL 24 - Demonstration. Contact the Committee to End the War in Vietnam, Box 3501, Station D.

SASKATOON

APRIL 24 - March with guerrilla theatre, poetry and speeches in park. Info: Vietnam Mobilization Committee, phone 242-8175.

WINNIPEG

APRIL 24 - Demonstration. Contact the Vietnam Mobilization Committee, phone 957-1752.

SOUTHERN ONTARIO

APRIL 25 - Regional antiwar action. Assemble Queen's Park, Toronto, 2 p.m., march to City Hall for 3 p.m. rally. Info: Vietnam Mobilization Committee, 241 Victoria St., 863-0494.

OTTAWA

APRIL 24 - Demonstration starting at NDP federal convention at 12:30, rally at Parliament. Info: Vietnam Mobilization Committee, c/o 18 Third Ave.

MONTREAL

APRIL 24 - Demonstration. Contact the Mouvement contre la guerre, 3855 St-Denis.

HALIFAX

APRIL 24 - Demonstration. Contact the Halifax Antiwar Committee, 422-9836.

FREDERICTON

APRIL 24 - Demonstration. Phone 454-9776.

Protesters harassed by Cdn. customs

NIAGARA FALLS — When are Canadian citizens denied normal entry into their own country? When participating in a display of unity between the U.S. and Canadian antiwar movements on the Rainbow Bridge. Apparently this alarms the Canadian government even as it pursues its hands-across-the-border eternal friendship with its senior imperialist partners.

On March 26, about 70 demonstrators from the Niagara Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) of the U.S. and about 20 members of the Canadian Niagara Peace Movement (NPM) met in the middle of the bridge to express international solidarity against the war in Indochina.

This internationalist action was harassed from the outset by Canadian authorities. A "tourist" started off by taking pictures of the protesters with a telephoto lens and, when asked to stop, retreated into the Customs building.

On entering Canadian Customs after the action, all the demonstrators were ordered by officials to provide identification, a highly unusual procedure, and their names were taken down on a list. Incensed, four of the group refused to give way to this but were told they would be denied entry until they did so.

Three finally complied under protest, but the fourth, still refusing to submit, was actually refused entry and sent to U.S. Customs, who showed unusual persistence in getting his name.

On April 2, members of NPM picketed the Sheraton Brock Hotel in Niagara Falls, where Trudeau was dining with local Liberal hacks. Met by a regiment of 150 cops they shouted slogans such as "NATO, NORAD, ICC: End Canada's Complicity!"

The action was organized by militants in the NPM supported by the Niagara Young Socialists and the Plymouth Commune of the Welland NDP.

Niagara antiwar activists are now preparing for the April 24-25 actions.

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book bolsters inquiry

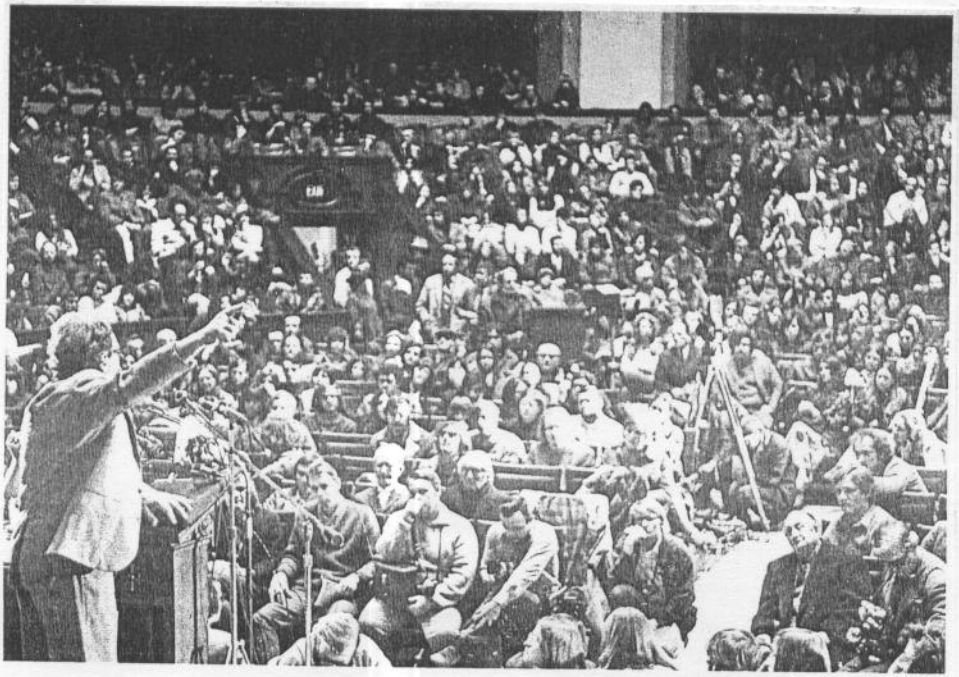

photo by Mintz

WIDENING PROTEST. 1,400 fill Toronto's Convocation Hall March 28 to hear Michel Chartrand (above) and Robert Lemieux. The rally reflected growing disbelief in the government's excuses for its war measures against Quebec, and increasing support for Quebec political prisoners.

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EDITORIAL

Why we defend all political prisoners

The March 28 mass rally in Toronto for Quebec political defendants Michel Chartrand and Robert Lemieux, attended by 1,400 — the biggest Quebec defense meeting yet in that city — provoked a vicious but revealing response from a leading watchdog of ruling class interests.

In a lead editorial, the Toronto Star seized on the disruption of the meeting by a handful of extreme right-wingers to blame the speakers and the sponsoring organization for the resulting violence.

Because Lemieux had defended Paul Rose, his client, he and Chartrand, the popular Montreal labor leader, were "apologists for the terrorist Front de Liberation du Quebec." By a similar curious reasoning, the Star editors argued that the Emergency Committee for the Defense of Political Rights in Quebec had simply got what was coming to it.

Was it coincidence that within 48 hours of the Star's blast, the University of Toronto, pointing to the incident at the Chartrand-Lemieux meeting, suddenly ordered organizers of a university rally for imprisoned Black militant Angela Davis and Quebec political prisoners to post a $1,000 bond and pay $600 for security forces, only a day before the rally was to take place? From an attack on the right of political prisoners to speak out in their own defense, it is only a short step toward curbing free speech and free assembly in general.

photo by MacInnis

MICHEL CHARTRAND addresses Toronto rally March 28.

Unfortunately, however, hostility toward the political prisoners has even found an echo in some of the established "civil liberties" organizations. When the Canadian Civil Liberties Association criticized the Public Order Act in its recent brief to the federal government, it went out of its way to slander "certain exponents of revolutionary violence" who had recently been accorded "standing ovations and warm applause. . .when they took to the public platform" — an obvious reference to the tours of leading defendants in the Montreal trials.

"Exponents of violence"! The very charge against Lemieux, Chartrand and their colleagues was thrown out of Trudeau's own courts as unsustainable — and now it is picked up not only by professional hypocrites of the Toronto Star but by advocates of civil liberties.

The Quebecois are the victims of the greatest act of violence and organized kidnapping in recent Canadian history — Trudeau's war measures against Quebec.

The victims include Paul Rose, who is now sentenced to life imprisonment after a monstrous judicial farce worthy of Kafka's worst imagery.

The ruling class, full-time "exponents of violence" in defense of their rule, would like nothing better than to divide the defense of their victims.

All the more reason, then, to resist these crude and vicious attempts to slander and intimidate the active movement against the repression. The movement must stand together, in defense of the rights of **all** the defendants. A long-standing principle of the labor movement puts it correctly and succinctly: An attack against one is an injury to all.

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Quebec law heralds purge of junior college activists

MONTREAL, April 5 — The Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes has charged that the Bourassa government is "preparing a purge of the CEGEPs (junior colleges)" through the special law proposed in the Quebec national assembly today.

The law's stated purpose is "to assure order and good functioning of CEGEPs in Quebec." But its real aim, according to the Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes, is to stop at all costs "the disorder of free expression on Quebec campuses."

The proposed law permits the government to investigate the administration of the colleges, suspend the local administration, and impose new administrators responsible to the government directly.

The CEGEPs have been shaken by continuing student and teacher protests over the past weeks. Strikes and occupations have swept the province's campuses, attacking both the province's arrogant moves against teaching and non-teaching unions and its moves to deny free speech and political rights to the students. The protests have been marked by an unprecedented degree of student-teacher solidarity in action.

The authorities have replied by calling in riot police against the occupations, and locking students and teachers out of their schools. As of this morning five junior colleges were paralyzed by strikes or lockouts.

The statement published by the Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes (Quebec counterpart of the Young Socialists) is being circulated on a massive scale among Montreal area students.

"By reinforcing government control on schools in crisis, and invoking the threat of outside agitators, the government is preparing a purge of the CEGEPs," the LJS states.

"Given the growth of student struggles which pose the question of student-teacher control of education, the government is answering with repression aimed at the leaders of this legitimate protest movement.

"Free expression is incompatible with an educational system which wants to train docile workers."

The LJS calls on teachers, students, maintenance personnel to "form a coordinating committee to organize the struggle in all CEGEPs."

"The campuses to those who work and study in them!"

#29 Apr 1971 labor Challenge

photo by White

FREE CZECH POLITICAL PRISONERS, Kate Alderdice of Young Socialists (right) tells embassy officer. Also in delegation were (background) Jacquie Henderson and John Steele.

Protest trial of 'Prague 19' at Ottawa Czech embassy

by Jeff White

"Socialism, Yes, Bureaucracy No. We shall not be moved!"

These words, sung to the tune of a familiar labor song, rang out through the doorway of the Czechoslovakian Embassy March 25, and shattered the silence of a sunny spring afternoon on Ottawa's posh Clemow Avenue.

The voices belonged to members of a delegation from the Young Socialists Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes. Moments before, they had knocked on the big wooden door of the embassy, asking to meet with the ambassador.

They wanted to discuss with him their concern over the sentencing of 16 Czechoslovakian young people to as much as four years in prison for their "Trotskyist" ideas, and their active efforts to restore socialist democracy in Czechoslovakia.

"We want to see the ambassador, We shall not be moved!"

The ambassador wasn't there, a certain Mr. Novotny told them. Novotny, an embassy bureaucrat, tried to send them packing, with a suggestion that they make an appointment to see the ambassador at a later date.

"But this is urgent," insisted John Steele, acting executive secretary of the League for Socialist Action, which was also represented in the delegation. "As socialists who are in the forefront of the movement for the defense of Quebec political prisoners, we feel that political trials in Czechoslovakia are an important enough subject to discuss with the ambassador without an appointment."

Of the 19 people arrested for membership in the Revolutionary Socialist Party in Czechoslovakia, 16 have been sentenced to harsh jail terms, one was acquitted, and the trials of two others are still pending.

"Free the political prisoners. We shall not be moved."

Suddenly the Young Socialists found themselves surrounded by Ottawa police, who had been summoned by frightened embassy officials.

Jacquie Henderson, central office organizer for the YS/LJS, accused Novotny of using capitalist cops to stop the Young Socialists from discussing the trials.

"You can't silence us with capitalist cops any more than you can silence socialists in your own country by political persecution," she shouted, as Novotny squirmed in embarrassment.

Meanwhile, outside the embassy, supporters raised banners: "Free the Prague 19. Socialism Yes, Bureaucracy No." And a red flag with the image of Che.

Then the police started dragging out the members of the delegation, throwing them down the concrete steps of the embassy.

Physically bruised, but politically unshaken, the socialist delegation dispersed under threat of arrest, but vowed later in a press statement, "The YS/LJS is more determined than ever to fight for the freedom of the Prague 19."

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LSA replies to red-baiting attack

Socialists and women's liberation

On March 30, the Toronto Telegram, a daily paper notorious for its red-baiting, published a front-page article attacking the Toronto Women's Caucus (TWC.) The article was based on a letter written by two former members of the TWC, Corileen North and Yvonne Trower.

The letter attacks the leading role of these socialist women in the TWC claiming there is a contradiction between being a member of the LSA or YS and the women's liberation movement. It states: "Leadership must be indigenous, not imposed. Particularly not imposed by women who owe *first* loyalty to a political party which practises democratic centralism and has always been dominated by male-oriented revolutionary socialists."

The letter continues: "We feel that the fact that Troskyist goals in the WL areas are fundamentally contradictory (and totally selfish) is one of the main reasons why the participation of Trotskyist women in the WL movement has created so much disruption, dissention, and political bloodshed."

It maintains that this problem of domination by Trotskyists is "not unique to the TWC; it is happening in WL groups all across North America."

The following statement is a reply to the letter by the Women's Commission of the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière and the Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes.

Three days ago the daily press published a letter by Corileen North and Yvonne Trower, two founding members of the Toronto Women's Caucus, who have since become inactive. The letter was also circulated "to the women's liberation movement throughout North America and Great Britain." It raises serious questions about the non-exclusionist, democratic character of the women's liberation movement. It charges that the Toronto Women's Caucus (TWC), one of the larger and more active women's liberation organizations in Canada, is being destroyed by the subversive takeover of the group by a "small but disciplined radical group" which is "male-oriented." The group? ... the women of the Young Socialists and the League for Socialist Action.

This five-page letter, with its quotations from documents, all suspicious words underlined, and its insinuations that this is just one of many attacks against the "Trotskyists" taking place in the women's liberation movement on this continent can be summed up in one word — red-baiting.

The main elements of their case are that the socialist women of the LSA and YS push their mass perspective in the TWC, encourage women members of their organization to join the TWC and work to become leaders of it; try to convince other women's liberationists to become socialists and join their organizations; caucus separately and work to carry out the decisions of their caucus.

Such charges! They can only be taken seriously if one assumes 1. that socialism and women's liberation are at odds; 2. that the women of the LSA and YS, unlike other women, are not really oppressed, in fact are not really women, but something else called "Trotskyists"; and 3. that the other women of the women's liberation movement are sub-intelligent dupes who let these "male-oriented" robots walk all over them.

Ludicrous as it is when examined, this red-baiting is a traditional method of attack against radical movements — by the ruling class of this country, the same ones who maintain the oppression of women. The non-exclusionist, democratic character of the TWC has always been its strength. Trower, North, and the editors of the Toronto Telegram will be disappointed if they expect to see any division of the women's liberation movement in the face of this attack.

We, women of the YS and LSA, are socialists and women's liberationists. We see no contradiction. Our Marxism enables us to see that the oppression of women is at the very root of this system. This, far from dividing our loyalties, teaches us how to fight against our oppression. We know that we must wipe this system of oppression off the face of this earth and build a society based on human liberation.

What kind of a women's liberation movement are socialist women working to build? We are building a movement where women who have been denied their humanity for centuries can learn how to organize against their oppression.

photo by White

CONFRONTING TRUDEAU. Feb. 13 protests in Ottawa (above) and across Canada demanded the government grant free abortion on demand. Socialists have been prominent in building these and other mass protests of the women's liberation movement.

→PAGE 2

Together they can develop their abilities and understanding. This movement must be open to all women and must make itself visible through action in the streets around the many specific demands of women. Such a movement points the finger at the real oppressors of women — the rulers of Canada, their governments, institutions, etc.

We women of the Young Socialists and League for Socialist Action have dedicated our lives to changing society. This dedication could be called "selfish." We want to be liberated. In our whole beings, every moment of our lives, we feel our oppression as women. This oppression only deepens our determination to struggle for a new society.

We don't insist that all women who want to join the women's movement must first be socialists and realize the necessity of a more general struggle including both sexes. This would narrow the movement disastrously. But we do insist on our right to put forward our socialist ideas and attempt to win women to them and our organization. If Trower and North object to us doing so it can only be because they object to these aims but fear debating them with us. To attack us for being "male-oriented" because we realize the struggle to change society must include both sexes is downright ridiculous! By such logic all women who work, live or participate in any activities with men should be discouraged from belonging to the movement because they are male-oriented.

We view the women's liberation movement as a profoundly revolutionary development, challenging the fundamental premises of this society. Its demands such as 24-hour child care, free abortion on demand, etc. point in the direction of a complete reorganization of society where the welfare of humans is put before the accumulation of profits by a handful of men. The women's liberation movement is for us an essential part of the struggle that will decide the fate of womankind and mankind. We feel saddened that these two sisters have decided to put this struggle aside for the time being. We don't ask for guarantees that there will be no problems in this struggle. But the stakes are high and we won't rest until we have won human liberation.

labor Challenge #29 Apr 1971

For control of our bodies

Build Mother's Day actions

by Kate Alderdice

TORONTO — High school women have launched a campaign for birth control in the schools that will culminate in a massive high school contingent in the May 8 demonstration here for "Control of our Bodies — Control of our Lives."

As part of the campaign, birth control handbooks and petitions are being circulated in all Metro Toronto high schools. The petitions, with thousands of signatures attached, will be presented to all the Metro Boards of Education at various target dates throughout the campaign. With the response the campaign has received already, the May 8 demonstration has the potential to be the biggest ever on this issue.

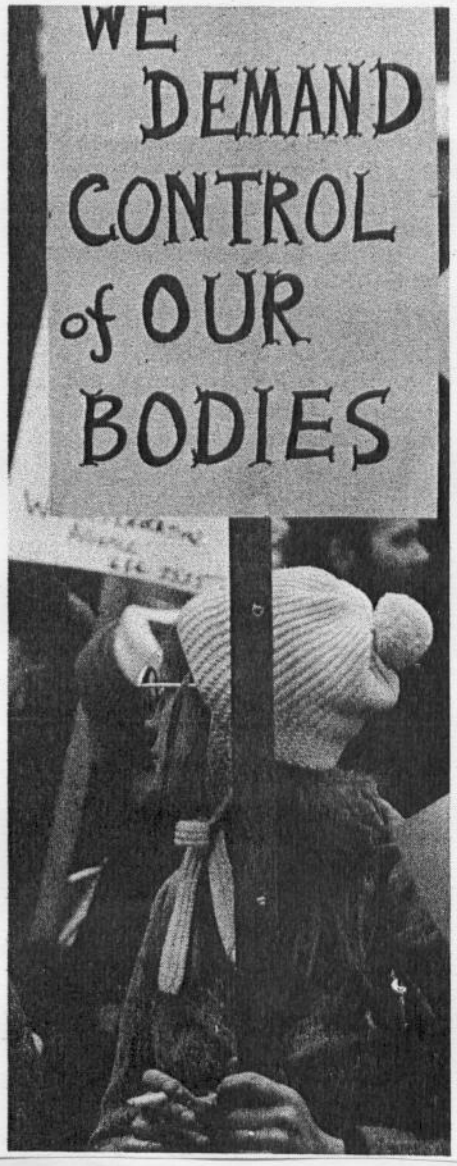
This demonstration will be one of the several taking place across the country on May 8 and 9. These Mother's Day actions are emerging as the next major coordinated campaign of the women's liberation movement, for the right of women to control their own bodies. They were launched in Ottawa on Feb. 13, when women from across Canada confronted the government demanding free abortion on demand. For thousands of women, the Feb. 13 action expressed their own most profound convictions about their right to abortion, and awakened a widespread sympathy for the aims of the women's liberation movement.

The Mother's Day demonstrations are the next step in this campaign. For once, Mother's Day will be devoted by some to the needs and aspirations of Canadian women, instead of the greater profits of the candy manufacturers and flower distributors.

The right of women to control their own bodies remains the central question before the women's liberation movement. Mass, coordinated demonstrations across the country can win this basic demand for us.

These demonstrations make the women's liberation movement visible, bring it before the eyes of countless thousands of people. They bring many new women into the movement, and win the support of many more. They strengthen the existing movement, uniting it around one central action, and cutting across the factors which tend to divide the movement. Above all, they show the strength and determination of women in action. It is this, and this alone, which is going to force Trudeau and his government to concede the right to free abortion on demand.

The May 8-9 actions will be the third occasion on which women across Canada have demonstrated to Ottawa their determination to win on the abortion issue. This time the potential is there for the biggest, angriest and most impressive demonstrations yet.



New women's group formed in Montreal

MONTREAL, March 31 — An important breakthrough in the Montreal English-speaking women's liberation movement has been registered with the formation of a new, mass-oriented, non-exclusionist group, the Women's Action Movement.

The 26 persons at the group's second meeting decided on the name, agreed to continue the campaign against Royal Victoria Hospital's abortion policy and treatment of women, to investigate other hospitals and to join in the countrywide Mother's Day May 8-9 actions for free abortion on demand.

This development followed months of paralysing debate in the Women's Liberation Movement (WLM) over the nature of the movement and what it should be doing. Things came to a head when members of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière and Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes demanded a debate after the elitist leaders of the WLM steering committee voted without informing the membership not to endorse the Feb. 13 Ottawa action.

It soon became clear that the old leadership wanted a group composed of "core" women restricted to those committed to "an independent and socialist Quebec" as opposed to an open, democratic movement capable of mobilizing all women seeking to fight their oppression.

The Women's Action Movement has made it clear that it wishes to work with the WLM on agreed projects, and relations between the two groups are amicable.

And big projects are underway.

Aug. socialist rally to unite activists from all Canada

labor Challenge
#29 Apr 1971

by Joe Young

Two ambitious projects were announced March 21 by the Central Executive Council of the Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes. These projects are designed to win broad new layers of students to the YS/LJS in the context of the rapidly growing interest in socialist ideas.

A five-month recruitment campaign has been launched. The purpose of the drive is to throw open the doors of the YS to all the students who voted for the YS in their election campaigns, who read the Young Socialist or who have participated with the YS in the antiwar, Quebec defense and women's liberation movements. In this way these students will be able to put their ideas into action by helping to build a socialist world.

The drive will be complete with posters, buttons, recruitment kits, personal visits to interested students, recruitment meetings on many campuses and speak-outs outside of high schools.

The recent formation of YS locals in the southern Ontario cities of Barrie, Orillia and Newmarket gives a glimpse of the possibilities.

The culminating point of the recruitment drive will be an intensive week-long educational conference to be held at the University of Waterloo, Aug. 20-25. This conference will include speeches, workshops and discussions on all the important questions before Canadian revolutionaries as well as a program of social activities.

The YS/LJS has applied to the Trudeau government for $200,000 of the $58 million which they have set aside to help find youth employment this summer. Part of this money would go to help pay organizers for the conference. For further information write Educational Conference, 334 Queen St. W., Toronto 113, Ont.

Another encouraging sign of the growing influence of the YS was the election of Debbie Fraleigh as president of the Student Council at Toronto's York Memorial Collegiate. Fraleigh ran an exciting campaign which in marked to the usual personality campaigns stressed her socialist program.

At the University of Saskatchewan in Saskatoon, the Young Socialists are an integral part of the leadership of probably the most extensive student struggle so far this year — the struggle to have Prof. John Richards, an NDP candidate, rehired. At crucial points in the campaign the Young Socialists have put forward the necessity for all students to unite in mass action around the demand to "Rehire Prof. Richards." This has been key in helping the movement to sustain itself in the face of reformist and ultraleft pressures.

Our aim: $16,750 by May 1

The response is overwhelming and unexpected. We reported last issue that supporters in two areas had raised their quotas, and lifted the goal of the Labor Challenge fund drive to $16,000.

But that was only the beginning. St. Catharines and Vancouver were joined by Toronto, Edmonton, Montreal, Richmond Hill: our projections were much too low! And the drive's overall goal now stands at $16,750 — $2,050 higher than the original goal, which itself seemed ambitious at the time.

And there's something else to celebrate this week: the launching of a new socialist publication in Quebec, Libération. Committed to the fight "for an independent and socialist Quebec," Libération will be coming to many of our readers who have subscribed to La Lutte Ouvrière or Jeune Garde, both no longer publishing.

Libération is aiming for $1,500 to assure monthly publication on an 8-page format.

What does our drive mean?

You've heard how people can "vote with their feet." That's what U.S. soldiers are doing when they refuse to march into combat in Vietnam. Our readers are voting with their chequebooks, expressing their insistence that this paper must be maintained and expanded.

At the same time they are reaffirming the fundamental character of Labor Challenge — an independent labor paper, written, circulated and financed by working people across the country.

He who pays the piper calls the tune, they say. That's pretty clear from the systematic lies and deceit of the big business-financed press.

That's why our drive's success is so vital to provide the sinews of our political independence — as a paper supported and financed by its readers.

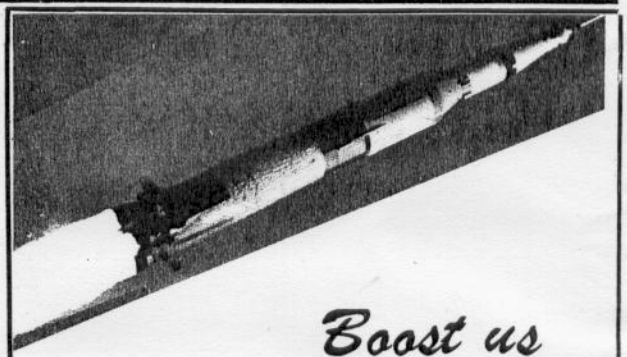
And will the drive succeed?

With the drive half over Vancouver is leading the way with $2,564 of its quota accounted for. (Vancouver supporters assure us they'll go over even their new, raised goal, and perhaps hit $5,000.) But other areas like St. Catharines, Ottawa, Kitchener, have sent nothing in as yet.

As we go to press there are three weeks left. Little enough time if we are to reach our goal and go over the top — by May 1. Send your contribution now!

Labor Challenge fund drive goals

Alberta	$1,025
British Columbia	4,500
Hamilton	400
Kitchener	150
Manitoba	100
Montreal	300
New Brunswick	100
Orillia	100
Ottawa	150
Richmond Hill	400
St. Catharines	600
Saskatchewan	250
Sudbury	200
Toronto	8,000
General	475
TOTAL	$16,750



Boost us over the top

Send your donation now

Enclosed is ..... for the Labor Challenge fund drive.

Name .....

Address .....

City ..... Zone ..... Province .....

mail to: Labor Challenge, P.O. Box 5595, Station A, Toronto.

CHARTRAND INTERVIEW:

'No independence within capitalism'

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Trudeau's guilt for Indochina war atrocities

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Waffle challenge to NDP congress shows need for socialist course

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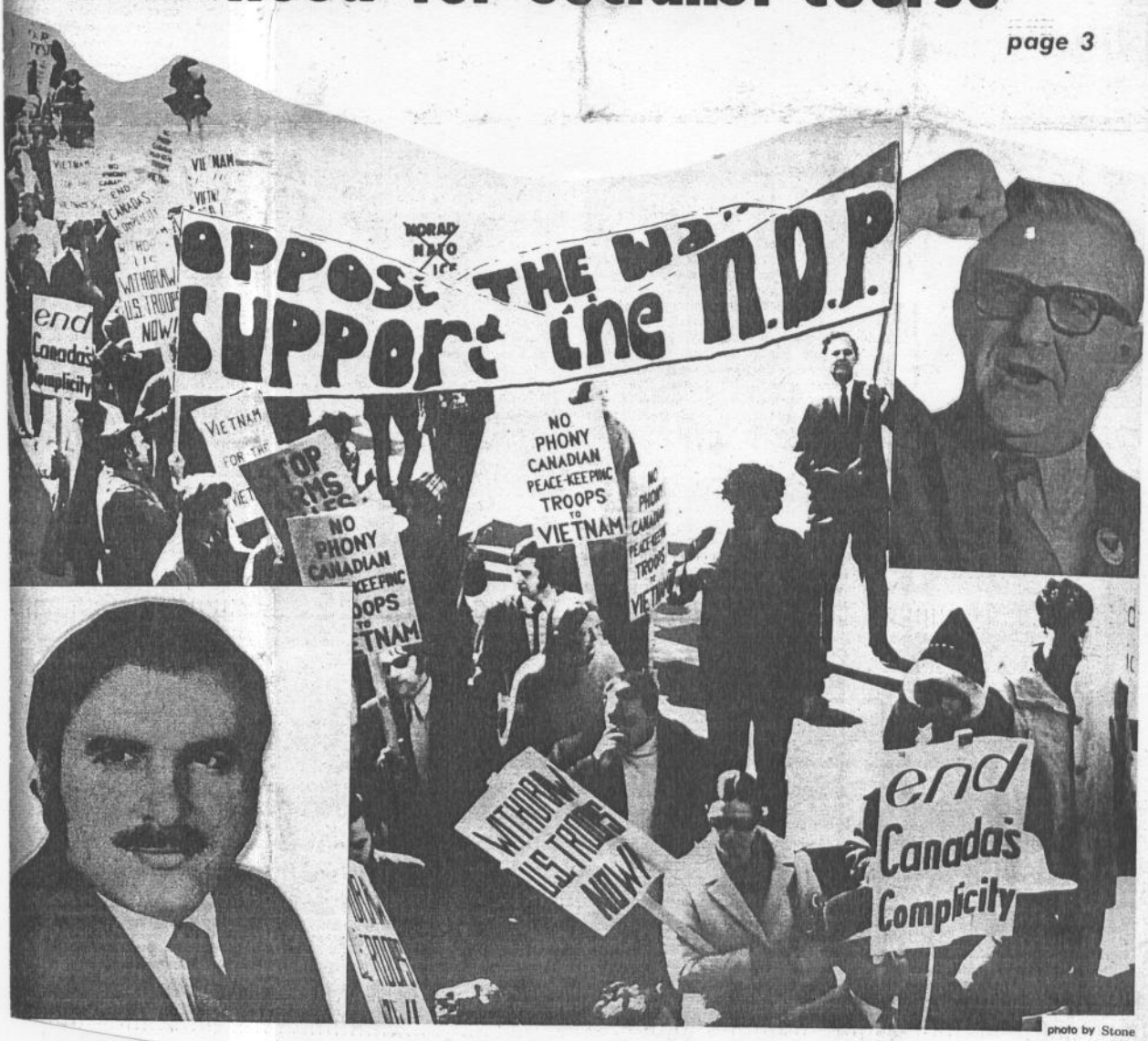

photo by Stone

labor Challenge
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EDITORIAL

NDP must adopt the socialist course

As the federal convention of the New Democratic Party opens in Ottawa April 21, the atmosphere is one of excitement and heated debate, unparalleled since the party's founding convention was held 10 years ago.

The leadership contest has won the NDP wide interest and new respect. And in the main, this is due to the Waffle candidature of Jim Laxer, which has served to focus this contest on the burning policy issues of concern to the party's members and supporters.

The convention will be huge and dynamic — reflecting the party's deepening roots among Canadian workers, and the recognition by growing millions that it represents the alternative to big business rule.

At the same time it will reveal the widespread feeling in the party that the NDP's present leadership and program are out of touch with today's growing mood of unrest, out of touch with the solutions demanded by our most urgent problems.

For ten years the party leadership has hewed to the right-wing course it carried with it from the CCF. Program has been limited to modest reforms possible within the chains of the capitalist profit system. Party activity has been limited to preparing for and contesting elections, although this is only one of the forms of political action in this country.

The party's appeal has been designed not to educate, to point out the lessons of workers' harsh experiences, but to accommodate fully to the assumed backwardness of the average voter.

The word "socialism" gets a good airing in conventions and leadership races. But the concept of socialism — of building a new society on a world scale based on common ownership, democratic planning and production for human need — has had no place in the party's program or strategy.

The result is a record of frustration. As in 1961, the NDP governs but one province in ten; in four federal elections it has yet to move beyond the high-water mark of its predecessor, the CCF.

Yet a radicalization is sweeping through this country, extending from the student youth to wider and wider layers of the population.

This new mood of protest is taking aim at the most weighty pillars of our capitalist society: its denial of the hopes and ideals of youth, its relegation of women to second class status, its oppression of Quebec and the Native peoples, its assertion of the power of plant owners to control the lives of workers, its alliance with U.S. imperialism's drive to dominate Canada and the world.

This radicalization has shown a profoundly revolutionary dynamic. More than any previous wave of protest in our century its tendency has been not merely to demand limited reforms but to challenge the very right of a handful of monopolists to run our economy, to own it, to rule our lives.

It has brought dynamic new forces to the NDP. But if the rhetoric of party spokesmen has shifted slightly to the left, the party's course has remained fixed; a strategy of band-aid reformism that had already proven bankrupt in a previous and more conservative period.

The new radical mood has swept into the party, and will find expression at this convention through the Waffle caucus. On two key issues in particular the Waffle has sharply posed the challenge to the party to change its course. It has raised the need for the NDP to take a public stand for the right of Quebec to determine its own future. And it has pointed to the only practical solution to U.S. imperialist domination of Canada — the placing under public ownership of the agencies of this domination, the U.S. monopolies.

These issues only highlight the broader problem. The NDP's course is reformist; the needs of Canadian workers demand revolutionary solutions.

The party must adopt a socialist course — must find a leadership, program, and activities oriented to mobilizing all the exploited and oppressed layers of the population in the struggle to break the power of big business, take ownership and control of this economy we have built, and set about the construction of a socialist society.

This is the course consistently projected for the NDP, since its founding, by the forces around the League for Socialist Action.

And this is the challenge before the 1971 NDP convention.

May Day rallies to reflect growth and militancy of left

by Al Cappe

May Day began as a commemoration of the Haymarket attack in Chicago, 1886, in which police brutalized a demonstration of striking workers causing the deaths of both workers and police. Five labor leaders were subsequently hanged for the incident. The Second International proclaimed May 1 an International Day of Labor, in which the working class would demonstrate its unity and power.

Over the years the significance of May Day and the drama of the celebration have been largely lost on this continent.

But this year the left will take to the streets. The Quebec labor movement is pointing the way. The Quebec Federation of Labor has called a May Day demonstration. Last year a similar joint demonstration drew 5,000.

Trudeau's visit to Vancouver on May Day will be enhanced by the contingents of students, women, antiwar activists and revolutionary socialists who are planning a demonstration to greet him. While he is attending his $50 a plate dinner, the demonstrators are invited to attend a gala May Day feast at the headquarters of the League for Socialist Action (LSA) and the Young Socialists (YS) at 1208 Granville Street that evening.

In Toronto, the YS and the LSA initiated the formation of a broad coalition including the New Democratic Youth, the Communist party and others. This May Day committee is holding a Labor Day demonstration on May 1 which will start at the Toronto-Dominion Center and march through the downtown to a rally and speakout in a park.

The LSA and the YS will host a celebration that evening at Carpenters Hall. The theme of the evening will be "Solidarity with the World-wide Struggle for Socialism." Authur Young, a leader of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière who was arrested under the War Measures Act, will be the featured speaker.

The LSA and the YS are holding banquets and demonstrations across the country — in Hamilton, Edmonton Saskatoon and elsewhere.

labor Challenge

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Subscribe to new Quebec radical paper

A new socialist newspaper hit the streets of Quebec this month, Libération. And reading it is a must for all those who wish to tune in to the views of the revolutionary wing of the nationalist upsurge in Quebec.

Its purpose? Libération's lead editorial explains, "Libération is the only paper which takes on the task of explaining the necessity of an independent, socialist, and unilingual French Quebec — a workers Quebec.

"For us, this is only realizable through the conscious struggle of the Québécois masses — through mass mobilizations in the streets, in the factories, in the schools, aiming at the overthrow of capitalist domination."

Victoire etudiante a Vieux-Montreal: Lénine sur la Commune: L'avortement: une boucherie

The first issue, published in a striking 2-color, 8-page format, features a discussion of the scandalous denial of the right of abortion of Québécois women. Other articles discuss the recent mass struggles in Quebec schools and the present state of the movement to defend Quebec political prisoners.

Libération also reports on several of recent activities of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere.

An 8-issue subscription to the newspaper, published monthly, can be obtained by sending $1.00 to Libération, a-s André Doucet, B.P. 133, Succ. "C", Montréal.

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Why May 8 rallies call: free abortion on demand

by Lis Angus

The Toronto Abortion Campaign Committee will have to pay to use City Hall Square facilities on May 8, while beauty contests can use them free of charge, Toronto's all-male Parks Committee has decided.

The reason for this distinction? The abortion committee is a partisan group, not a "safe" community group. And as well, as Alderman Fred Beavis put it, "Beauty contests uplift women."

What garbage! Certainly our situation desperately needs some uplifting, but Mr. Beavis and his colleagues are doing their best to put obstacles in the way of our doing anything about it.

The rally and festival planned for City Hall on May 8 is the culmination of a series of actions in the ongoing campaign for free abortion on demand and free birth control information and devices in the high schools.

Demonstrations will be held in several other centers, including Montreal and Vancouver, on the May 8-9 weekend. In Waterloo, a teach-in centered on women as housewives and mothers will be held on May 7-8, followed by a demonstration on May 9 (Mothers Day).

The central theme of the campaign is "Control of our Bodies, Control of our Lives."

Winning the specific demands of this campaign — for free abortion on demand and for the right to birth control information and devices, particularly in the high schools — will be a decisive step against the degradation and oppression of centuries.

The fear of unwanted pregnancy hangs over every woman from the age of twelve. Birth control is inaccessible to large numbers of women — particularly high school women — and even the best birth control is neither completely effective nor completely safe. Abortion is expensive, legally available in only a minority of cases, and highly dangerous when obtained from illegally operating, unqualified practitioners.

Yet the effect of an unplanned pregnancy on the life of a woman is devastating. She may have to give up her education, or her job; she will certainly have to rearrange any plans she may have had, to center around the need to care and provide for a child. If she decides to seek an abortion, at best she will have to go through humiliating red tape and weeks of anxious waiting for a hospital abortion — at worst she faces infaction, mutilation and death at the hands of a backstreet butcher.

Even without becoming pregnant, the effect on her life of potential and impending motherhood is all-pervasive. Her whole personality is shaped around the role our society imposes on her biology, a role defined by motherhood and wifehood, not by her own skills and abilities.

Her education is directed to relatively unskilled jobs; her participation in the work force is considered "temporary" — filling in time until she gets pregnant. She will find it very difficult to get a job with any responsibility or decent pay, she will be among the first to go if there are layoffs, etc., all because she is not considered a "real" member of the work force — and the factor continually raised as excuse for this treatment is that she has no control over when the whether she will bear children.

Yet the government is callously ignoring women's demands for free abortion and birth control. Trudeau recently gave a speech on women's rights — and did not even mention abortion.

The only real option open to women is united action to actually change that situation: to make birth control and abortion readily available to every woman. The powerful forces of capitalism are ranged against us in this struggle.

The growing campaign is drawing in large numbers of Canadians who support our demands, and May 8 will show all those opposing the liberation of women from restrictions on their lives that there are no obstacles that can stop us.

Hundreds of youth expected at Waterloo socialist rally

by Kate Alderdice

Socialists from across Canada will be converging on the University of Waterloo Aug. 20 - 25 for the 1971 Socialist Educational Conference.

The conference will include six days of lectures, seminars, workshops and informal discussions on the general theme of "How to Make a Revolution in Canada."

The topics will range from women's liberation, to Quebec, the labor movement, student struggles, and many others.

Speakers from the U.S. and international socialist movements, as well as leading activists from Canadian struggles will participate.

Between three and four hundred people from across Canada are expected to attend.

One important aspect of the conference will be the research projects associated with it. Socialists in centres all over the country will be digging up the facts of Canada's revolutionary past, for the revolutionaries who will prepare its future. The women's suffrage movement, the native peoples, the industrial union movement, these and other topics will be the subject of research projects leading up to the conference. In many cases the facts of Canada's past are just not known; the struggles of Canadian women, working people and native people have been eliminated from the textbooks and from the consciousness of people.

How many Canadians know the true story of the 1837 rebellions or of the tremendous sympathetic response of the Canadian working class to the Russian revolution of 1917? How many know the story of the Winnipeg General Strike, or the movement that women built to win the right to vote?

The conference organizers are assigning people to work full-time coordinating these research projects which will extend over the next three and a half months until the conference.

The conference is sponsored by the League for Socialist Action Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière and the Young Socialists Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes.

For the YS LJS the conference is the culmination of a five-month campaign to win two hundred new members in Canada and Quebec. It will also launch the fall offensive on campus, with thousands of students back at school after a summer unemployed and with plenty of complaints about the education system. The conference with map out a series of meetings, demonstrations and campaigns in the new term.

During the summer many of these students will be travelling across the country helping to organize the conference, doing research, selling newspapers, handing out leaflets and putting up posters to let everyone know the conference is happening.

Facilities have been reserved at University of Waterloo for meetings, classes and sleeping accommodations for six days. Cost of the conference to each participant will be about $30 including food and accommodation. Check the socialist directory advertised in this issue to find out more about the conference from socialists in your area.

Waterloo conference poster now going up across Canada.

The Perfidious Role of the British in Indochina

By Ross Dowson

The British in Vietnam — How the twenty-five-year war began by George Rosie. Panther Books Limited, London. 144 pp. £.40; Canada $1.25. 1970. Includes photographs. Not indexed.

While it is now the rulers of the United States who are providing the military hardware and deploying the forces that are attempting to crush the fighters for Vietnamese independence and self-rule, they are only carrying on where the French, the Japanese, and the British before them were forced to leave off. The people of what we now know as Vietnam have been in one continual struggle against imperialist intervention for more than one hundred years. This small paperback sketches the British chapter in that horrifying tale of infamy.

Few are even aware that Britain has played any direct role in Vietnam at all; but, as Rosie shows, British forces played an absolutely crucial role. Had it not been for British intervention in the critical period between September 1945 — when the French had been routed and the Japanese forces were preparing to withdraw, following the dropping of atomic bombs on Japan — and March 1946, when once again French rule was reinstituted, the Vietnamese would have firmly established the power that was already in their hands.

Britain moved in when no other imperialist power was able to, smashed the Vietminh government in Saigon, released the pro-Vichy French murder squads from prison, and, instead of clearing out the "enemy" Japanese forces — ostensibly her reason for being there — enlisted them in a murderous assault on the Vietnamese people that reestablished the French in power.

The author can scarcely believe his own findings. In his concluding chapter, Rosie raises a whole series of questions, among them:

Why were Churchill and Eden so anxious to restore Indochina to the French after the war? Was the decision taken by the Big Powers at Potsdam to incorporate half of Vietnam into a British command a purely military one or were the motives of the British Joint Chiefs of Staff covertly political? Why did Mountbatten, head of the South-East Asia Command, not have more influence over events in South Vietnam? Was he double-crossed by the French, and, by association, the British general in command of South Vietnam, Douglas D. Gracey? Did General Gracey exceed his orders when upon arrival he suppressed the Vietnamese press and declared martial law? Was the decision to carry out the coup that smashed the Vietminh government of Saigon his own or was he pressured into it by the French? Was his use of Japanese troops in subsequent fighting wise or ethical, etc., etc.?

But facts are stubborn things and Rosie has searched them out and authenticated them from the Ministry of Defence Library, the library of the Royal Institute of International Affairs and the Institute of Strategic Studies, and from the journals and records of the regiments employed, largely Indian and Ghurka forces from the Burma campaign.

Among the photographs he culled from the Imperial War Museum is one showing a Japanese trooper, with whom Gracey's forces had just been locked in a life-and-death battle, actually posting the British declaration of martial law in the streets of Saigon on September 19, 1945.

In my opinion, the facts themselves as presented by Rosie answer his questions.

Rosie relates how, with the collapse of Japan, the Vietnamese nationalist forces moved out to establish their power in Saigon. The Vietminh, which had a heroic record of opposition to the Japanese, established its leadership with the agreement of other nationalist forces who feared that otherwise the British and French would dismiss the movement out of hand as a creature of Japanese intrigue. The People's Committee for the South was established in Saigon Town Hall under the chairmanship of Tran Van Giau, leader of the Cochin Communist party. Ho Chi Minh was head of the CP of Tonkin, which with the northern part of Annam constitutes North Vietnam. The Saigon committee consisted of nine members — six of them members of the Communist party.

Rosie shows how the Vietminh bent over backwards to curry favor with the British and French military. The extremely conciliatory policy of the Vietminh toward Cédille, the French commissioner-designate for Cochin China who had been flown in August 22 by the Royal Air Force, caused all the other nationalist forces, including the Trotskyists, to express fears of a sellout to the French.

Following September 2, the day of the Declaration of Independence, during which there were some revolutionary outbursts, the Vietminh took a series of actions to assuage the fears of the British, who were on the point of arriving. Among the measures: Tran Van Giau himself stepped out of office; the committee was reconstituted, the size being increased from nine to thirteen, with only four being included from the Communist party; leaders of the Trotskyist movement were arrested, including the popular Ta Tu Thau.

The Vietminh welcomed the British with open arms. But, says Rosie, "the extremists among the nationalists had succeeded, to the dismay of the Vietminh, in stirring up some feelings against the British by spreading the rumour that General Gracey had come simply to reinstall the French."

Despite all their supplications, Gracey would have nothing to do with the Vietminh. On September 21 the British declared martial law, rearmed many of the Saigon *colons*, took over the jails, rearmed the French prisoners of war. Then on September 23, Cédille, with these forces and British per-

mission, seized the Vietminh headquarters in Town Hall and arrested all the committee members he could find.

Ho Chi Minh wired his protest from Hanoi: "The release of French prisoners of war . . . the arrests of members of the People's Committee . . . a non-fulfilment of the mission placed on the commander British forces in South Indo-China by the United Nations . . . and non-observation of neutrality by the British disarmament forces. . . ."

In vain. With the coup, which Rosie thinks was "a tragic blunder," the terror was on. ". . . the forebodings and warnings of the more extreme nationalists seemed to have been justified. As a consequence, the moderately inclined Vietminh were pushed into the same camp as such hard-liners as the Trotskyists. . . ."

The Vietminh, having disarmed the movement, was now, under much less favorable circumstances, compelled to fight. Rosie, apparently unable to credit the unfolding evidence, again remonstrates: "While the Vietminh probably did their best to ensure that it [the truce] was kept, their hold on the nationalist forces had loosened ever since the *coup* of 23 September. It was the extremists, not the Vietminh, who had been proved right about the intentions of the British, the Vietminh policy of moderation resulting only in the restoration of French rule in Saigon."

From then, mid-October 1945, until early 1946 when the British withdrew their forces, the bulk of them to Indonesia to do there for the Dutch what they had done for the French in Vietnam, Rosie notes, "the war became a smaller version of the kind that the United States is still fighting."

The British, with Japanese and French help, fought the same kind of war against the people of Vietnam in 1945-46 as the U.S. is waging in Vietnam in 1971. The British units were directed not to be "too scrupulous" in attempting to distinguish between harmless civilians and Vietnamese combatants, Rosie observes.

"It is therefore perfectly legitimate," a British commander directed, "to look upon *all* locals anywhere near where a shot has been fired as enemies, and treacherous ones at that, and treat them accordingly."

According to the official *History of the Indian Armed Forces*, "all the dirty work to fight and disarm the Annamites [Vietnamese] was assigned to Japanese troops." The historian of 4/10 Gurkhas noted "a satisfactory result of their use was greatly to reduce the casualties among our own troops." Japanese casualties were more than British, Indian, and French combined.

The British intervention in Vietnam took place at the end of the second world war and the beginning of a wave of struggles by the peoples of the colonial world that has continued, despite periodic setbacks, to sweep forward. Besides opening up a little-known chapter in the heroic struggles of the Vietnamese people, this carefully documented paperback inadvertently throws some light on the nature of World War II.

It is apparent from the evidence presented by Rosie, although that is not his aim, that the prime object of the Allied capitalist powers was to preserve and, if possible, extend their imperialist holdings—in this they had the agreement of Stalin at the head of the Soviet bureaucracy.

It is also apparent that while the capitalist powers of both sides were prepared to thrust entire peoples against one another in horrendous combat and to devastate whole continents, when confronted by an uprising of a colonial people they were prepared to bury all differences in order to crush it.

Rosie's slim volume reveals that Churchill's primary consideration, for all his fine-spun verbiage, was the supremacy of British capital and the security of the Empire. Somewhat confused by Roosevelt's talk about a UN trusteeship system for the colonies, Rosie nonetheless brings our attention to a wry observation made by Anthony Eden: "Roosevelt's dislike of colonialism," while "it was a principle with him, was not the less cherished for its possible advantages." □

Thousands Demonstrate for Socialist World

By Ross Dowson

[The following account of the May 16 Paris demonstration commemorating the centenary of the Commune is reprinted from the June-July issue of the Canadian paper *Young Socialist.*

[Ross Dowson is executive secretary of the League for Socialist Action/ Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, the Canadian Trotskyist organization.]

* * *

Under the banner of Lenin and Trotsky! Under the banner of the Fourth International!

On May 16, in Paris, in the demonstration in commemoration of the Commune of 1871, these words took on a mighty, material form.

How many times have they been invoked at small meetings and in modest celebrations of revolutionists across the world? How often have they climaxed declarations and manifestos appearing in small-circulation papers, expressing through the images they conjure the purity of our aim, the continuity of our ideology, the heroism of our struggle—and our confidence that once again they will rally to their side new forces that will forge the vanguard party, which, at the head of the class, alone assures victory in the epic struggle launched by the Communards one hundred years ago?

As the crimson flags that bore forward the giant banners inscribed with the images of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky flooded out of the main gate of the Père Lachaise cemetery into the Boulevard de Ménilmontant, word that the state radio said we are 35,000 ricocheted amongst us. Thirty-five thousand! The police were later to estimate 3,500, and then 10,000. *Le Monde* and *France-Soir* reported 30,000.

But there was no mistaking—20? —30?—40,000?—the vast throng of revolutionaries who filled the area in front of the main gate of Père Lachaise had rallied under the banner of Lenin and Trotsky and the Fourth International—in answer to the call of the Ligue Communiste and Lutte Ouvrière, now in the process of unifying their forces.

It was miserable weather as the first contingents were gathering, four hours earlier, in the square in front of the Church of St-Jean-Baptiste.

The rain lifted, and then came again. But these young men and women, the overwhelming majority in their early twenties, wide-eyed, confident, even joyous, their numbers growing and pushing back up the streets and lanes that feed into the square, remained fast in the areas designated by the marshalls.

The light breeze lifted the flags and billowed out the banners that declared their solidarity with the Polish struggle for socialist democracy, victory for the Vietnamese, and those that designated the various contingents in the leading sector—the German section of the Fourth International, the Swiss, Austrian, Danish, Italian, Swedish, British, the Belgian, and a makeshift one raised by a handful of Canadians which also rallied some passing-through U. S. revolutionists beneath it.

A mood of impatience to declare ourselves to Paris—and to the peoples of the entire world—begins to develop. We express it through scorn at the police helicopter that inspects us in continuous sweeps from high above. The marshalls who line the square, wearing crash helmets and armbands emblazoned with the hammer, sickle and figure four, shout out slogans, snatches of verse and songs. They are picked up from one squad to the other—and then the growing crowd responds. One that ends with outstretched arm, four fingers extended and shouts of 4th International, 4th International—strikes a wide response.

At last! We move off! The rain has lifted. As we surge down into the winding streets and through the squares, we catch a glimpse of our comrades who are coming up behind us.

Red banners shimmering against the spring green of the trees and the blue of the sky—blood of our martyrs and blood of life. The cries of another May echo once again up the faces of the buildings—the slogans and chants of 1968.

What do the women, men, children who stand at the windows and on the balconies think? Some on the streets smile approval. "Gauchistes?" Ultraleftists? Not at all what the Socialist and Communist party spokesmen denounce. These are sons and daughters of Paris, orderly, disciplined, serious and determined.

We have hardly reached our stride —when we face the north gate of the cemetery. Suddenly a hush descends on us. We move down the lane and pass by le Mur des Fédérés. Flowers have been placed there in remembrance of our fallen.

Have the Communards ever before had such homage? The speakers addressed us in the square. The rain sifts down on us and we are not really listening. Our eyes take in the whole vast assembly and then look from one person to the other.

Que faire? Was tun? Where do we go from here? On Friday over 50,000 Parisian metalworkers demonstrated in solidarity with the Renault strikers. This morning 10,000 youth gathered in Montreuil at a festival in support of the CP youth journal. Over 1,000 women are at Versailles at the convention of the Union des Femmes Françaises. How to reach them?

"With this lever"—Trotsky's words on the significance of the Fourth International, addressed to his U. S. cothinkers, well up—"with this lever in hand, we are all, all!"

That's it! It's like a pyramid! But a completely inverted one. From this point—here—through a whole series of united front actions, around immediate issues of the day involving masses in struggle—upwards—to the Commune!

"New thousands who will enter its ranks tomorrow will probably be deprived of necessary education. By common effort we will elevate their revolutionary level . . . the program of the Fourth International will become the guide of millions and these revolutionary millions will know how to storm earth and heaven."

Who can doubt it, standing here this May 16. □

The role of women in history

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Kidnappings: a false tactic:

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NDP leaders shaken by left's challenge

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NO PHONY CANADIAN PEACE-KEEPING TROOPS VIETNAM
END CANADA'S Complicity
CANADA OUT OF NATO
CANADA OUT OF NATO NORAD ICC
E-U HORS DU VIET NAM
TROOPS TO VIETNAM
TO U.S.

photo by White

NDP CONVENTION UNITES BEHIND ANTIWAR PROTEST. Delegates to NDP federal convention, including all five leadership candidates, attended rally of Ottawa's Vietnam Mobilization Committee April 24. They were addressed by T.C. Douglas (at mike), Robert Cliche and NDP president Donald Macdonald.

by Dick Fidler

OTTAWA — Confronted by an unprecedented challenge to its program and leadership from a highly organized, substantial left wing, the bureaucratic right-wing machine that has controlled the New Democratic Party since its founding 10 years ago emerged from this year's federal convention intact but badly bruised.

The April 21-24 convention registered the consolidation of a mass left wing within the NDP, united around the campaign for the party leadership by "Waffle" leader Jim Laxer. Equally important, the convention revealed an important erosion of confidence in the right-wing leadership's capacity to lead the party to victory, a disenchantment which extends deep into the party ranks.

It is not surprising that it took a fourth balloting to elect David Lewis the new NDP leader. The right wing itself was seriously divided over the advisability of handing the mantle to Lewis, a crusty lawyer who as national secretary of the CCF, then deputy parliamentary leader of the NDP, has long symbolized the unattractive, conservative side of Canadian social-democracy. Many party officials were identified with the campaigns of the other three right-wing candidates.

What is significant is that up to the last ballot, Laxer and the "Waffle" caucus continued to pick up support from erstwhile supporters of the eliminated candidates. They evidently preferred to throw in their lot with the left rather than stomach Lewis as leader.

Lewis himself was forced to acknowledge the scope and significance of this opposition at a press conference just after his election. It was, he admitted, "an anti-Lewis vote."

But is was much more. The 37 percent of the more than 1,600 delegates who voted for Laxer on the final ballot expressed a conscious hostility to the party's controlling machine that was inherited from the CCF and has been fortified in the new labor party by the funds and viewpoint of the trade union bureaucracy.

If the block vote of the trade union brass and various party office-holders went to Lewis on the last ballot — a safe assumption — it is clear that the Waffle candidate was supported by a clear majority of rank-and-file delegates from the constituency associations. Poll samples show that the vast majority of delegates under 30 years of age, almost the entire 60-member Quebec delegation and a very substantial number of women delegates, voted for Laxer. Many delegates from

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... 'Waffle' shakes up NDP

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union locals threw their support to the candidate of the Waffle caucus, which had been labelled prior to the convention "a bunch of social misfits" by Autoworkers leader Dennis McDermott.

The mood of questioning, of unease about the party's course among many delegates, was not given full expression in the convention debates. The right wing used its control of the chair to cut off debate whenever it chose. The resolutions committee, which sifts through the resolutions from ridings, local unions and other party bodies, and presents the "composites" which are debated on the convention floor, operated as a "convention within the convention"; the final product presented to delegates frequently bore no relation whatever to the original motions, but reflected only the narrow reformist outlook of the NDP leadership. Delegates could not amend resolutions on the floor, but only refer them back to committee.

As a result, the party policy marked no advance. The convention decisions reflect no concessions to the growing radicalization in the country. The party failed to meet the challenge posed by the growing anti-imperialist sentiment, the women's liberation movement, Quebecois nationalism, the student upsurge — the challenge that is reflected in the resolutions submitted by the Waffle caucus, demanding the party-re-orient unequivocally to these sectors around a clear anticapitalist alternative.

The right mobilized all its forces to exclude Waffle supporters from the leadership. The 30 federal council members elected by the convention include only three Waffle supporters, although the Waffle ran a full slate of candidates. (A successful Waffle nominee, Carol Gudmondson, however, received 39 percent of the vote in her bid for the presidency, and was elected a vice-president.)

The sharp polarization between left and right, besides clarifying basic programmatic differences, thus forced the party leadership to drop any pretense of speaking for the whole party. More than ever, the right wing stands exposed in political isolation from very significant sections of the party, and more than ever dependent for its control on crude manipulation of the apparatus.

And immediately following his election as leader, Lewis beat down a motion in the federal council to name Laxer to a vacancy on the party executive.

If the convention marked no change in official policy, the mood of delegates was nonetheless quite militant. It could be seen when the convention adjourned to demonstrate on Parliament Hill against unemployment and plant closures, in the thunderous applause for every reference to the party's principled stand against the War Measures Act last fall, in the demonstration against U.S. aggression in Southeast Asia.

This mood put the right wing politically on the defensive. Where the Waffle mobilized on the convention floor in support of its own resolutions, as in the debates on the nationalization of energy resource industries, or Quebec self-determination, it was able to expose the shallow opportunism of the leadership's positions.

Where the Waffle did not organize its intervention in the debates, however, the right wing was able to get away with some scandalous things. For example, the resolutions committee's composite on Southeast Asia simply endorsed a statement by U.S. church publications morally protesting the war and rapping "U.S. leaders" for their "lack of proportion between ends sought and means used in Vietnam."

It ignored the half-dozen resolutions from numerous riding associations and provincial sections, all of which posed increased participation of the NDP in the antiwar movement around demands for immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops, and an end to the Canadaian government's complicity in the war through such means as barring export of strategic commodities to the U.S. for the duration of the war. The resolution was steered through the convention by T.C. Douglas and Robert Cliche who urged delegates not to amend it.

When delegates like Vancouver antiwar leader Hilda Thomas took to the floor microphones to protest this maneuver, they were cut off by the chair. None of the Waffle leaders protested this farce; according to a Waffle spokesman, the Waffle steering committee had agreed not to intervene in debates on international policy — although this decision was never communicated to the caucus of Waffle supporters.

But the convention marked a big advance for the Waffle. By nominating its own candidate for the top leadership it provided a crucial focus for its intervention.

"We have won a very great victory for the left," Jim Laxer told an exuberant meeting of about 350 Waffle supporters after the convention. "When a handful of us drafted the Waffle manifesto two years ago, no one imagined what we'd achieve."

Now, he said, the Waffle should, "together as a movement, go out and organize on a number of fronts" — support of Quebec's struggle for self-determination, for public ownership of basic industry, etc. And Waffle supporters should become more involved in riding associations, and "work more with trade unionists, try to form a link with the left caucuses that are beginning to develop in some unions."

Following a spirited discussion, the meeting voted to hold a national conference of the Waffle later this year in Western Canada.

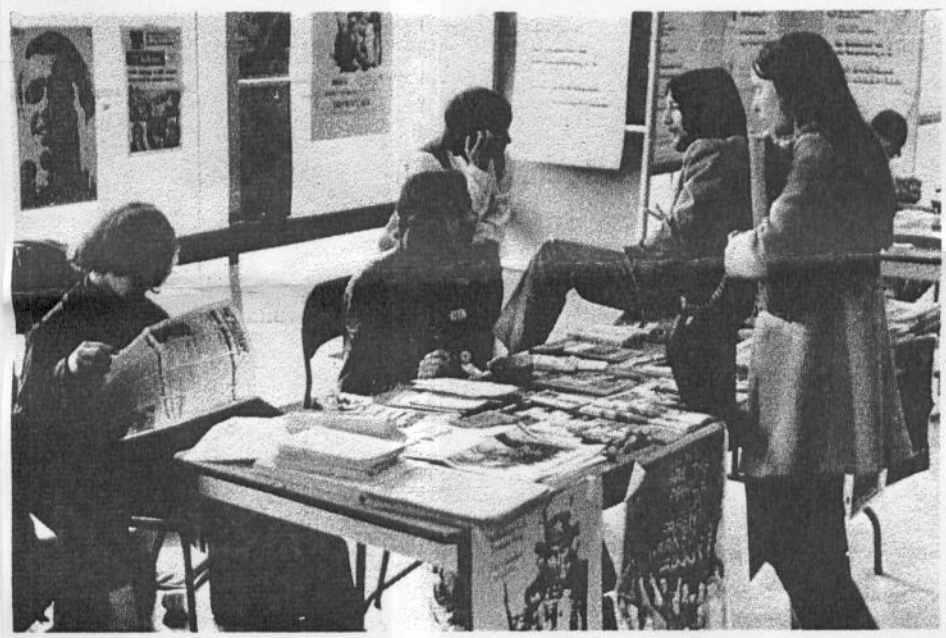

photo by White

SOCIALIST LITERATURE BOOTH. Popular spot in convention was Young Socialists table in foyer, where delegates purchased $170 of pamphlets and newspapers in two days. When uptight convention officials, using security cops, closed booth, over 400 delegates including four leadership candidates, signed petition demanding it be allowed to reopen.

EDITORIAL

What convention means for socialists

"Convention United Behind David Lewis," proclaims the front-page streamer headline in the NDP's Commonwealth, reporting on the federal convention.

That, of course, is just what did not happen. This convention marked the opening of a period of considerable ferment in the New Democratic Party. It is characterized by the development of a mass left wing around a program of basic anticapitalist demands, confronting the right wing, firmly in control of the party apparatus, but more and more isolated from the new radicalizing sectors of Canadian society.

The development of a mass left wing in the labor party, entirely outside the party "establishment," in a period of wide and deepening radicalization, is almost without precedent in the annals of contemporary social-democracy.

A superficial observer, or apologist for the NDP leadership, might, like the Commonwealth editors, claim a triumph for the right wing. After all, didn't they succeed in beating back the left's challenge on all the key issues? The party is still saddled with the old program, the old leadership, the old machine.

But politically, the Lewis-Harney-Broadbent-Howard wing of the party was on the defensive in this convention. The feeling is growing in the party that this leadership, with its pallid, make-capitalism-work-better panaceas, is thoroughly inadequate to the tasks facing us.

Can this feeling be encompassed by some minor adjustments, changes of "image"? Ed Broadbent apparently thought so, and campaigned as a "moderate" alternative to Jim Laxer and the Waffle with a compromise proposal on every issue. His bid collapsed on the second ballot. The opposition needed and wanted a clear alternative. They got it in the Waffle.

The radicalization of recent years has developed largely outside the NDP, and is independent of the party. But it inevitably must be expressed in the NDP, the mass party of the Canadian working class.

The basic thrust of that radicalization — expressed in Quebecois independentism, the women's liberation movement, the student revolt, the growing anti-imperialist sentiment — is essentially anticapitalist, and revolutionary.

The Waffle is a first manifestation that the radicalization is reaching into the Canadian working class through its political party. That is why the NDP's right wing resists the Waffle so fiercely. The dynamic behind its demands cannot be accommodated within their reformist perspective.

The struggle to win the NDP to socialism is, in the last analysis, the struggle for a revolutionary program and leadership. The anticapitalist demands popularized within the NDP by the Waffle must be incorporated in the program of class struggle socialism and the internationalist perspective which surmounts the borders of the Canadian capitalist state to link the struggle here to the world revolutionary movement.

That is the program the revolutionary socialists of the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere have fought for within and outside the NDP since its founding. The current developments give a powerful impetus to that perspective.

4 Labor Challenge May 10, 1971 4131

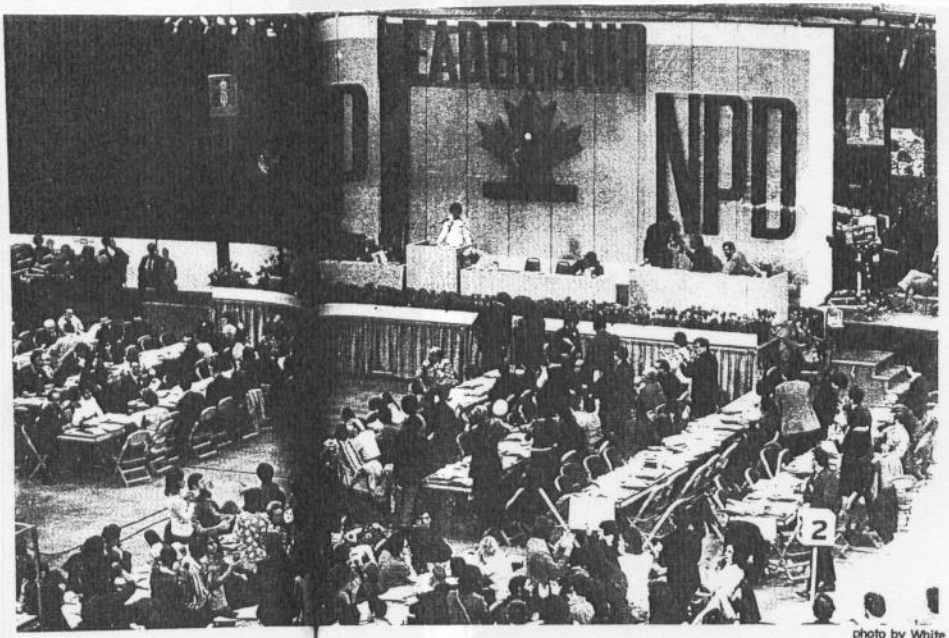

photo by White

A view of the convention, attended by delegates.

labor Challenge #31 May 1971

Waffle, Québécois join forces in defence of Quebec rights

"The people of Quebec," declared Robert Cliche, "look at the Confederation as obsolete — whether they support the old parties or not.

"Surely the time has come," he implored the NDP convention, "for the New Democratic Party to stand for principle, to defend the right of the Quebec nation to self-determination."

A few minutes later, the former Quebec NDP leader stood with tears in his eyes as the convention voted by 853 to 423 to defeat a motion recognizing the "absolute right to self-determination" of the Quebec nation, "meaning their right to collectively determine the degree of political sovereignty which they desire," and calling on the NDP to defend this position across Canada both in and out of parliament.

Once again, the NDP had failed to relate to the Quebecois nationalist movement.

The debate on Quebec self-determination, with its sharp clash of principle, was a highlight of the convention. It was sparked by the Waffle group, which had campaigned before the convention around a resolution which denounced the "national and class exploitation" of the Quebec nation, greeted the rise of the nationalist movement, and proposed a five-point program for "the building of an alliance between English Canadian and Quebec socialists."

The program included opposition to all repressive laws, immediate release of political prisoners, support for self-determination, "up to and including the right to form an independent Quebec state," and "an intensive educational program" by the NDP "throughout English Canada to make known the national and class oppression that the Quebec people have experienced."

At a convention in February, the Quebec NDP adopted similar proposals. Their resolution is nationalist — it defends the right of the Quebecois "to collectively determine the degree of political sovereignty which they desire" — but not independentist. It is "desirable" and "profitable," the Quebec statement declares, "both to Quebec and the whole of Canada that a new alliance be immediately developed between the two people which form Canada today." This resolution was supported by the Waffle caucus at the convention.

Virtually the entire 60-member Quebec delegation, supporters of both right and left wings, united behind this resolution — yet among English-Canadian delegates, only the Waffle group supported them. The four right-wing leadership candidates spoke against the motion.

The right argued on a very low level, from Steelworkers' staffer Murray Cotterill's demagogic denial that there is a national question ("the people of Canada are not exploiting the Quebecers"), to the more common opportunist line, expressed by NDP vice-president Charles Taylor when he said self-determination for Quebec could not be defended in English Canada, because it would be misunderstood as an encouragement to separatism.

Waffle candidate Jim Laxer had already explained the meaning of self-determination on a televised all-candidates' panel the previous night. What we are saying, he declared, is that English Canada must "get the British North America Act off the table, and negotiate (with Quebec) without preconditions, and not say that the other side has to agree with what we say." Who could say the Quebecois had a free choice now, he had pointed out in Le Démocrate, the Quebec NDP journal, given the economic blackmail Quebec had been subjected to during the previous provincial election, the general intimidation of the War Measures Act, and the vicious attacks on nationalists during the recent municipal election in Montreal?

Laurier Lapierre came closest to explaining the tremendous progressive significance of the new nationalist upsurge in Quebec in his eloquent appeal to the convention: "We want to stand on our own feet — to do our own thing." Who are our allies in English Canada?, he asked. "The socialists. It is up to you to respond."

This appeal went unheeded by the majority of delegates. The right wing's resolution which was adopted stated that "the business of the NDP is to work for a united Canada" in which English Canada "should have a voice in the outcome of Quebec's deliberation." It made no concessions whatever to the national character of Quebec, even leaning against negotiations on a parity basis, because this could be seen as "prejudging the outcome of negotiations in the direction of a non-federal solution, and also as a possible denial of the importance of acknowledging the regional and ethnic diversity of our country."

Why does the right wing refuse to explicitly acknowledge Quebec's right of self-determination? David Lewis assures us that "if the majority of Quebec decided freely and democratically to separate (etc), it would be criminal to try to retain them by force."

But, as Jim Laxer noted, Lewis and the NDP resolution fail to acknowledge that the present relationship between Quebec and Canada is already based on force. Recognition of Quebec self-determination is simply to recognize the fact of Quebec's present national inequality, to declare that the interests of the federal union cannot take precedence over the interests of the Quebecois as they themselves see fit to define their interests.

This, Lewis cannot accept. "I can't even conceive of Canada without Quebec or the Quebecois," he told Quebec NDP members recently. "I am convinced that if Quebec separated, neither Canada nor Quebec could survive."

It is this blind commitment to the present Canadian state structures that, in the last analysis, has prevented the NDP from coming to grips with Quebec nationalism, which today poses a profound challenge to the whole political and social order of capitalist Canada.

The Quebec NDP's resolution on self-determination presented to the 1971 federal convention expressed an attempt by the party's very modest Quebec forces to re-orient the NDP toward the reality of a universal disenchantment with Confederation. Having failed in this, where does the Quebec section go now?

Quebec leader Raymond Laliberté told a Waffle caucus meeting following the vote that the Quebec NDP will hold a special convention in June where "we will consider all the options." Meanwhile, the party has decided to contest the Chambly federal by-election, and issued an appeal in Québec-Presse for independentist support.

Newly-elected federal leader David Lewis told his first press conference, however, that all NDP candidates in Quebec must support his line on federalism. While it is not possible to predict what support the NDP will get in Quebec during the next federal general election — it still remains the only federal party to show any sympathy toward Quebecois aspirations — it is certain that the Lewis line will continue to prevent it from tapping the profound nationalist feeling of the Quebecois to build a powerful workers party on the Quebec level.

As one delegate shouted while the vote was being taken in Ottawa: "Trudeau won."

labor Challenge

Convention debate:

Urge NDP back women's liberation

The convention turned down demands that it link up with the growing women's liberation movement, in two important debates.

The constitution committee introduced, without arguing for it, a proposal which would have ensured that at least 12 of the more than 100 members of the federal council were women — a far cry from the 50-50 parity representation that the NDP Women's Liberation Movement has long sought for women on the ruling body of the party, but nonetheless an important recognition of the principle that women be encouraged to play a leading role.

Speaking for the proposal, Waffle leader Krista Maeots noted that women are grossly underrepresented in the party leadership. Only one of the NDP's 23 MPs, only two of its 90 MLAs, are women, she said. There has never been a woman president in the federal party; the situation is just as bad in the provincial sections. Less than 15 percent of the federal council members are women.

Surely, Maeots argued, these figures refuted the claim of some that "any woman who is capable can manage on her own" to become part of the leadership. "Discrimination does exist in the party," she concluded. And special measures were needed to correct the situation.

"We have been told to be patient convention after convention, but year after year there has been no significant change . . .our patience has not paid off. . .the time has come to translate our pious promises into practice."

She was strongly backed by leadership candidate John Harney who as provincial secretary of the Ontario party had previously opposed proposals to entrench women's representation.

It wasn't enough to talk about liberal concepts of equality, Harney stated. "If we want equality of the sexes, we must first bring about the structural changes (within the NDP) that show we need it." In the trade unions, we have long recognized the need for special measures to protect disadvantaged groups — hence the closed shop. Why shouldn't the same concept apply to women, a disadvantaged group within the party?

But after several speakers had opposed the motion, the chairman Eamon Park ruled an end to debate, ignoring cries for more discussion. The motion was overwhelmingly defeated on the vote.

Even more disappointing was th resolutions committee's programmati statement "Women in Canada", debate on the last day of the convention. "A insult to women in the party," it wa termed by Waffle supporter Kell Crichton, who moved that the NDI sponsor a national conference of wome within a year to work out a policy ac ceptable to them.

One after another, women rose tc denounce the committee's statement. It ignores, they said, the main demands of the women's movement — such as free abortion on demand (it calls, however, for removing abortion from the criminal code), 24-hour child care centers now — and it reinforces, one delegate noted, "the myth of woman as housewife and mother." Instead of putting forward a program to mobilize women in action, the statement is framed entirely in terms of what "an NDP government" will do. In effect, it tells women to wait until the party is elected to power.

The convention voted by a narrow majority to reject the proposal for a women's policy conference. But most women delegates voted for it, including many women supporting the various right-wing leadership candidates. Only the overwhelming support of the males — at least four-fifths of the delegates — assured passage of the party leadership's motion.

The party's resistance to the growing movement for women's rights was evident in other ways. Promised day care facilities were limited to only 40 children for a convention with close to 2,000 delegates, and were not available to mothers whose children were under two or over five years of age.

And the leadership took advantage of the election of 12 women to the council (itself the result of strong pressure from women members), to get a constitutional provision guaranteeing at least five women on the council, passed in 1969, wiped off the books.

This year's convention provided an unwelcome contrast with the 1969 convention, when a large caucus of women delegates of all viewpoints met frequently and laid the basis for a viable women's liberation movement within the party. The two meetings of the women's caucus at this convention were considerably smaller.

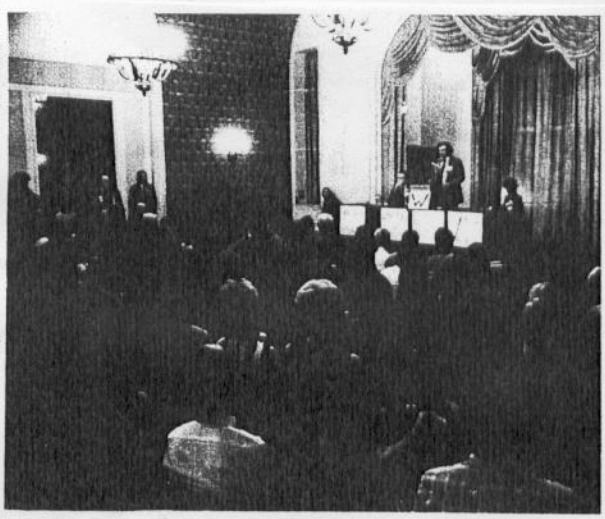

photo by White

WAFFLE CAUCUS MEETS. Jim Laxer speaks to Waffle meeting in Chateau Laurier. Up to 400 delegates attended caucus sessions, held every night during convention, to hammer out strategy.

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Women's liberation news

French women protest abortion law

The abortion issue has exploded in France with the publication of a statement signed by 343 prominent French women stating they they have broken the law by having abortions. The signers include Simone de Beauvoir, Françoise Sagan, Jeanne Moreau, and Catherine Deneuve. Their statement reads:

"A million women undergo abortion each year in France. They do it under dangerous condtions, because of the clandestinity to which they are condemned, whereas this operation, practiced under medical control, is one of the most simple.

"Silence is kept about these millions of women. I declare that I am one of them. I declare that I have had an abortion.

"Just as we demand free access to contraceptive methods, we demand freedom of abortion."

* * * *

Toronto City Council found its complacent proceedings disrupted last week when three women in 1890s bathing suits ran down from the visitors gallery onto the council floor carrying a banner reading "City Council, a century behind, allows women to be seen but not heard."

The women were protesting the council's decision to charge the Abortion Campaign Committee $60 for the use of the civic square for a Mothers Day abortion rally and festival, March 8. Beauty contests may use the square free of charge.

The three women's liberationists began distributing leaflets to concil members; in response, the mayor and aldermen called on the numerous guards and plainclothes cops to "take them away". Although the action did not persuade council to change its mind about the fee, women reporters who had made a point of being present were very enthusiastic and sympathetic. The action was reported widely in the Toronto news media.

SIMONE de BEAUVOIR, one of noted French women who have acknowledged their illegal abortions.

* * * *

Indian women who marry white men are denied their right to retain their Indian status, although Indian men marrying white women retain theirs. Jeannette Lavell, an Ojibwa from the Manitoulin Island reserve, challenged this law in the courts recently. She told the court, "I'm proud of my Indian status — why should this be taken away? I want my son to speak Ojibway and have a tie to the land — this little bit of Canada that is left to us." She added that she had the support of her band councillors in the test case.

Although the judge reserved his decision, he revealed his own prejudice with this offhand remark: "The only loss of rights that I see here is the loss of rights an Indian." The crown submitted that any loss of right suffered by Jeannette Lavell results from her marriage, and not because of her race or sex!

* * * *

The Vanier Institute of the Family has just published a study of single-parent families in Canada. Four-fifths of these families — about 300,000 in 1966 — are headed by women.

The average annual income of these women is $4,723 — well below the poverty level for the average family with two children. The study pointed out the many desperate needs of these families, particularly the need for child-care centers.

* * * *

President Nixon, Supreme Commander of the U.S. armed forces: "Unrestricted abortion policies, or abortion on demand, I cannot square with my personal belief in the sanctity of human life. . ."

SUBSCRIPTION DRIVE

All this ... and for only $3!

by Penny Simpson

Cross-country sub drive coordinator

Reader's Digest is one of the most widely circulated Establishment magazines in Canada, and one of the ways they get that way is by pestering the life out of millions of Canadians twice a year with "personalized" letters churned out by your friendly neighborhood computer at 5,000 an hour.

Labor Challenge does not, of course, have anywhere near the circulation of Reader's Digest, but we have a subscription campaign twice a year too. We do it differently. One of your friendly neighborhood socialists will be seeing you in the next month and a half. In person. She or he will be asking you to buy or renew your subscription to Labor Challenge, for one year. It's $3.00 for 24 issues. And in return you will get the best socialist paper in the country.

You will get exclusive interviews, like the one with Michel Chartrand in the last issue. There are women's liberation news and features. Then there are things like reports from Brazilian revolutionaries on what's happening there; news about the antiwar movement, thorough coverage and analysis of the NDP and labor movement, and the best coverage of Quebec events anywhere (in English, that is). Labor Challenge is the only place you will get all that, in your mailbox, every two weeks, for only $3.00.

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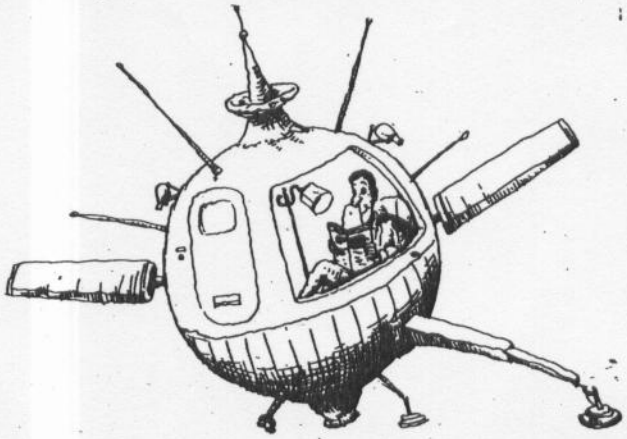

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Vallieres tried for views, Crown admits

by Robert Dumont

MAY 3 — "For four years, Vallières has wanted a trial for his ideas. Today he has that trial. He will be judged by his peers for his ideas, his writings, his intentions, his words."

Pierre Vallières and his co-accused Charles Gagnon and Jacques Larue-Langlois, are charged with a precise act, allegedly having "concluded an agreement to overthrow the governments of Canada and Quebec by force" — seditious conspiracy. But at an impromptu courtroom press conference April 27, the crown prosecutor openly stated the truth, that the Quebec revolutionaries are on trial for their political views, and nothing else.

For Vallières and Gagnon, this was hardly news. For almost five years, with the exception of a few months in 1970, they have been in jail on a variety of charges ranging from conspiracy to commit armed robbery and sedition to inciting murder.

In every case, the crown's case has rested largely on their writings, which were alleged to have inspired others to commit crimes in the course of struggling for the independence of Quebec.

Only one case has ended in conviction: a charge against Gagnon for conspiracy to commit armed robbery. More serious charges either ended in acquittal or are still pending appeal. Others have never been heard. On March 9, 1971, the old charges were dropped — but the next day the Crown slapped Vallieres, Gagnon and Larue-Langlois with new charges of seditious conspiracy, almost identical with those thrown out of court a month earlier by the judge as "too vague and imprecise."

What the prosecutor cynically boasts about the charges against Vallieres and his comrades applies to all those arrested and charged under the war measures legislation.

Labor leader Michel Chartrand revealed this when called to testify by the defense at the trial of Raymond Cormier, accused of having distributed copies of the FLQ manifesto the day before the FLQ was outlawed. Chartrand held aloft a pamphlet published by the Montreal Star containing the FLQ manifesto that he had just purchased near the courthouse. If a newspaper of the English Establishment could publish the manifesto, he asked, why was a young unemployed laborer liable to five years in jail for distributing it?

Cormier was acquitted by the jury on all three counts of belonging to the FLQ, distributing its statements and encouraging or advocating its principles and actions. His friend Côme Leblanc, charged likewise, was convicted only of "encouraging the FLQ." One conviction, a sentence of 10 months. That's all the Crown has to boast of, despite all the judges' efforts to give the widest possible interpretation to the Public Order Act, especially its provisions making support of the FLQ before the October crisis a crime.

Pierre Vallieres

On May 3, another 28 people charged with belonging to or supporting the FLQ had their trials postponed once again, to the fall assizes. It's a "dirty scandal," protested one of the accused, Michel Chartrand. "You don't want to proceed because you haven't got a case. You have no right to lay criminal charges and let them drag on forever."

Why does the government press ahead with its shabby discredited prosecutions? No doubt uneasy over the implications of the massive protests that recently greeted Prince Edward Island's public order act, Trudeau allowed his own legislation — the basis of the present political trials — to lapse April 30. But at the same time, Justice Minister Turner announced that a parliamentary committee would investigate the possibility of a permanent repressive law to take its place.

The political trials will once again be used to sustain the lie about an "apprehended insurrection" last fall — and the need for emergency powers to overcome it. But the pretext is wearing thin, and the charges are looking more and more like the stinking frameup they are.

MAY DAY, international workers' holiday, was celebrated by League for Socialist Action and Young Socialists in rallies, public meetings and banquets across the country. Above, part of the Toronto May Day march of about 150, sponsored by an alliance of left groups.

Students jailed for role in race protest

by Penny Simpson

Three leaders of the 1969 occupation of Sir George Williams University in Montreal were given harsh sentences April 30 for "willfully obstructing the use" of the university's computer center.

Rosie Douglas, Ann Cools and Brenda Dash were arrested Feb. 11, 1969 with 92 others, many of them West Indian students, after the cops smashed their way into the university to end the occupation. The students had been protesting the administration's delay in dealing with charges of racism against a biology professor.

Douglas was given two years, Cools, six months. Both were fined heavily as well. Brenda Dash was fined $2,000.

Demonstrations protesting the sentences were held in Ottawa and the West Indies. In Georgetown, Guyanese chanted "Canadian justice is no justice," and during an allnight protest threw stones at the home of the Canadian High Commissioner. In Barbados, they burned the Canadian flag and an effigy of Trudeau.

Brenda Dash, the only Canadian citizen among the three accused, was told by Judge Mackay that she had let herself be egged on by foreign agitators. . .Douglas and Cools are both long-time residents of Montreal.

Dash had another taste of Canadian justice, in October when cops smashed in her door at 5 a.m. Oct. 16, seized her papers and held her for a week under the War Measures.

DEBATE CHOKED OFF. Unidentified supporter of federalism attempts to prevent socialist Jean Herivault from making a point, while Liberal MP Marcel Prud'homme tries to intervene.

LJS confronts senators

"We Quebecois have nothing to discuss with the federals. Our independence is not for sale or up for negotiations. We're going to take it. We demand the immediate removal of all Canadian armed forces, forever, from Quebec territory, the immediate release of all political prisoners, and no more federal committees."

This was the demand of members of the Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes at the first Montreal hearing of the federal parliamentary committee on the constitution April 26.

While Mayor Drapeau and business luminaries like the president of the Bank of Montreal looked on in dismay, the largely English audience responded to young socialists' motion to adjourn by singing O Canada. A few spectators joined LJS members in such chants as "Independence et Socialisme," "Le Quebec aux Quebecois."

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RALLY FOR DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS. Part of a demonstration of 1,500 in Charlottetown, PEI, protesting provincial Liberal government's "public order act".

PEI'S 'public order' act:

Massive protests force gov't retreat

by Terence Hamilton-Smith
and Richard Kuhne

CHARLOTTETOWN — Ottawa's Public Order Act has expired, but the climate of repression generated by it continues to have repercussions across the country.

A recent example was the passage of a "Public Order Act" by the Prince Edward Island legislature. Called an Act to Provide for the Prohibition of Certain Public Gatherings, it allows the cabinet to prohibit any public gathering which in its opinion "may contribute to the disruption of the public order." Anyone convicted of participating in an illegal "gathering" is liable to a fine of $5,000, a year in prison, or both. The Act has been widely compared to Ottawa's repressive legislation.

The Liberal government under Alex Campbell thrust it through three readings in the Assembly in just 90 minutes against only one dissenting vote, that of Tory leader Dewar.

The Act was ostensibly passed to force cancellation of a planned rock festival, Junction-71. Why, then, such sweeping terms, going far beyond the immediate alleged purpose of the legislation?

In the days leading up to the law, the RCMP whipped up an hysterical scare campaign against the festival. They spoke in high school assemblies, village councils, to church and women's groups. Scare films of the Woodstock festival were shown. The residents of Parkdale, the Charlottetown suburb where the festival was to be held, were told they would have to leave town and board up their houses. Predictably, opposition to the festival developed quickly, encouraged by the village council and the clergy.

The cops stepped up their harassment of young people, carrying out arbitrary arrests, searches and interrogations. Driving to Charlottetown to write this story, we were stopped by a police roadblock. Our car was searched, we were arrested, held for five hours, interrogated and our entire stock of Labor Challenge and other socialist literature was confiscated.

But more crucial for subsequent events was the reaction to the anti-festival campaign in other quarters. On a few hours notice, about 200 youth demonstrated in support of Junction-71 the night before the bill was passed. Over 3,000 names were collected on a petition supporting the festival that day in Charlottetown alone — which has a population of 20,000.

On April 15, immediately after passage of the bill, a Committee for the Restoration of Civil Liberties was set up to organize opposition to the Act, drawing support from the local section of the National Farmers Union, the university student government and faculty association, and prominent citizens.

Massive opposition to the repressive law quickly developed, with demonstrations of about 1,500 on April 15 and 17. Speakers at the latter included David MacDonald, the local Tory MP and only non-NDPer to vote against the War Measures Act last fall, and Dorothy Corrigan, mayor of Charlottetown.

But on April 22 Premier Campbell announced that the provincial law would be repealed — when the legislature reconvenes next November.

The Act still remains in force while a government-appointed commission studies "alternate" legislation. The threat of some new repressive legislation remains. But the promised repeal — clearly the result of mass pressure from citizens — represents a partial, if only temporary, victory.

Many people we talked to considered the introduction of the Public Order Act as some sort of test. This province is the only one in Canada where the New Democratic Party is completely unorganized, and organized labor is very weak. PEI is one of the few places in Canada where opposition to the War Measures Act was never organized.

The Toronto Globe and Mail commented on the PEI law in an editorial April 19, entitled "War Measures Offspring": "Ottawa has perpetuated a climate in which legislators may no longer hesitate to seize arbitrary measures."

Dennis MacKay, a leader of PEI's Committee for the Restoration of Civil Liberties, told us: "If the government uses this bill this summer when they've promised not to, or if they don't repeal it in the fall, then I'd like to see the whole country go out in the street against it."

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A movement is growing

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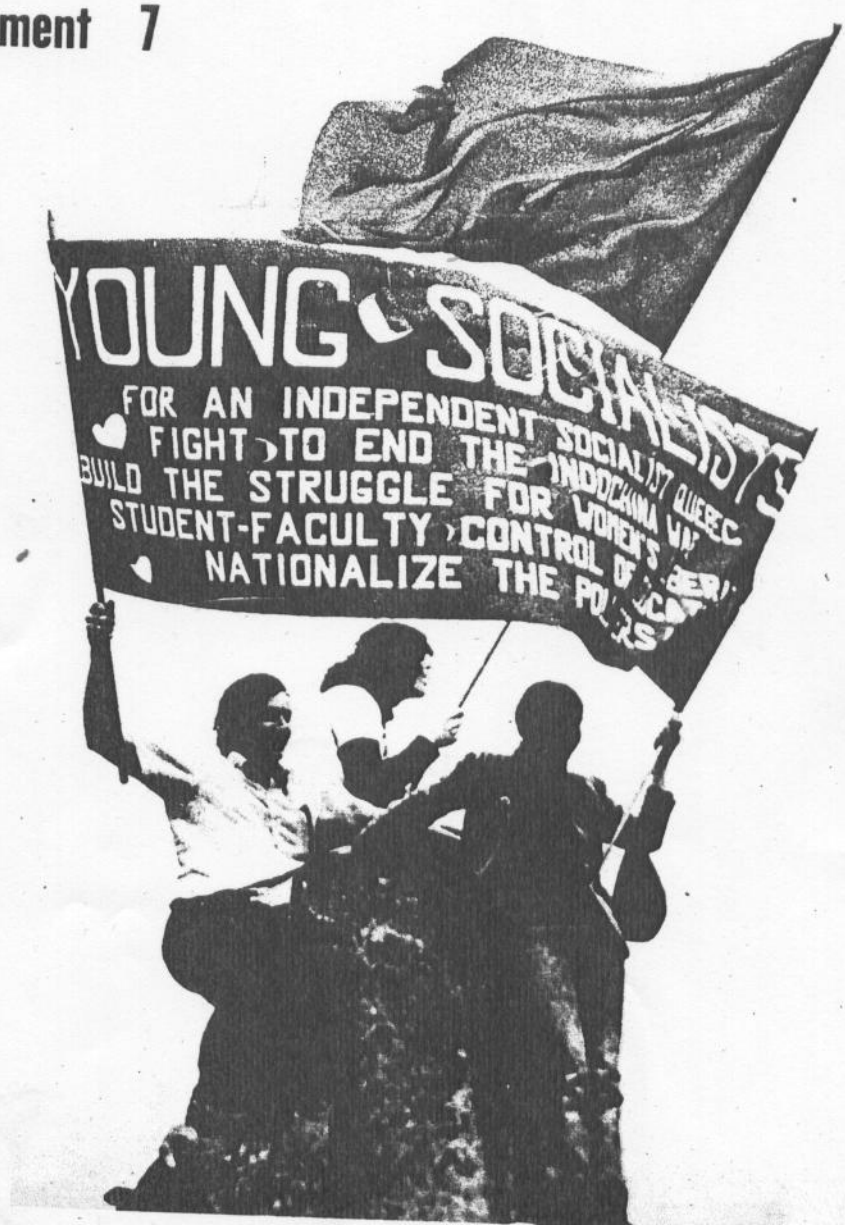

labor Challenge

#32 May 1971

Waffle challenges B.C. NDP leader

by Gary Porter

VANCOUVER, May 13 — The B.C. NDP convention, to be held here May 28-30, can be the scene of a major challenge to the present right-wing leadership by the growing forces seeking to reorient the party in an anticapitalist direction.

That is the perpective opened up by the decision of the "Waffle" caucus at its conference May 8-9 to run its own candidate for the party leadership against incumbent provincial leader Dave Barrett. The decision to contest the highest office in the B.C. section was taken primarily because of Barrett's record of opposition to the organized labor movement, and his total opposition to involvement of the party in the day-to-day extraparliamentary struggles of the working people. But it also reflected the impact of the Waffle's highly successful intervention in the federal leadership convention last month.

The candidate for the B.C. leadership has yet to be chosen, and some aspects of the provincial Waffle platform are not yet filled in. But on the federal plane, the Waffle has put forward the major elements of a program around which the left can build support.

A key issue at this convention will be the need for the B.C. NDP to develop a fighting program against unemployment — now at the highest level in many years. The bosses are using high unemployment as a club against the employed workers to step up speed-ups, to ram through plant closures, to hold down wage settlements. They are backed by a whole series of antilabor laws which limit picketing, prohibit secondary boycotts, bar checkoff of union funds for political purposes, and legalize compulsory arbitration and back-to-work orders.

The NDP must throw its full support behind the efforts of the B.C. Federation of Labor and union militants to organize the unemployed, and to fight inflation and antilabor legislation. At the Ottawa federal convention, the Waffle circulated a manifesto adopted at a southern Ontario labor conference calling for militant on-the-job action to stop shutdowns and layoffs. This strategy should be backed up by a program to open up new jobs through a shorter work week (30 hours of work for 40 hours pay) and to defend hard-won wages through a compulsory escalator clause in all salaries, linked to the rise in the real cost of living.

A key demand in the resources-dominated B.C. economy is the Waffle program of public ownership of resource industries. The forest industry should be nationalized and placed under workers control — a demand popularized at previous conventions by the B.C. Socialist Caucus, whose forces are now in the Waffle.

Above all, the NDP must stop telling working people to wait until it is elected to office, but must actively mobilize support now, by involving itself in all ongoing movements for social change. This means a concerted campaign to mobilize labor support through encouraging the affiliation of every trade union in B.C., stepping up political education and action programs, and ending the antilabor and antisocialist attacks by the present Barrett leadership.

An action-oriented strategy means that this convention must respond to the growing movement of women demanding an end to their oppression and degradation under capitalism. Free, safe birth control including free abortion on demand, 24-hour community-controlled child care centers, equal pay for equal work and equal educational opportunities — these are some of the key demands of the women's liberation movement which have been put forward by the Waffle within the NDP.

This convention must express solidarity with the federal Waffle program of support for the right of self-determination of the Quebec nation. The NDP must mobilize behind the movement to defend Quebec political prisoners, and against any new repressive legislation.

And the B.C. NDP must go beyond verbal opposition to the Trudeau government's profitable complicity in the U.S. assault on the peoples of Vietnam and Southeast Asia. The NDP must expose this murderous war as a prime force in the inflation spiral and a violation of the right of self-determination of Vietnam threatening us all with nuclear annihilation. The NDP must mobilize behind the antiwar movement.

Under the current right-wing leadership, the rank-and-file base of the party has continued to stagnate. Young people, women, trade unionists are notably absent in the constituencies and at conventions. Without them, there will be no gains. With them, the NDP will be a revitalized force, on the road to power.

It is these elements — the newer party members, the student-based wing, those already deeply involved in the antiwar, women's liberation and Quebec defense campaigns — who pushed the Waffle into presenting a candidate for the leadership. Their victory at the Waffle conference was narrow, by a vote of 21-17, resisted by a core of Waffle elements who are antilabor, or pro-Barrett, or who identify with the class-collaborationist policies of the Communist party.

The Waffle campaign can speak for the newly radicalizing layers, counterposing the radical socialist alternative to the narrow electoralist and antilabor stance of the Barrett leadership. All who want to see an action-oriented NDP, which represents its labor base and the new radicalizing forces, must be at those Waffle caucus meetings, shoring up the leadership campaign, developing its program, and preparing to get the party on the road to a socialist B.C. in a socialist Canada.

MAY DAY DEMONSTRATORS IN VANCOUVER. Mainly young people, women, students and unemployed, they are some of the many youth today who are looking for a radical alternative to capitalist oppression and repression. Waffle challenges NDP to move to left behind a program that can win support of these vital forces.

labor Challenge #32 May 1971

How revolutionists intervened in the NDP convention

As a major event in the political history of the Canadian working class, the NDP convention drew the close attention of most of the political tendencies which claim to speak for revolutionary socialism. Each responded in accordance with its view of the NDP.

The Communist party, which doesn't support the NDP and recently warned the Waffle, through its journal Canadian Tribune, against trying to win the NDP over to socialism, made no independent intervention. The few CP members who happened to attend the convention as delegates from affiliated trade unions were seen supporting the leadership campaign of Ed Broadbent, one of the right wing candidates. A few other CPers participated in the Waffle caucus in support of Jim Laxer's candidacy.

The various Maoist groupings were not to be seen; they all dismiss the NDP as "social fascist", even more reactionary than the traditional parties of big business.

The ultra-nationalist Canadian Liberation Movement issued leaflets to delegates at the door urging them to quit the NDP as a "waste of time" for socialists and "patriots," and to expose the party as "the agent of U.S. imperialism". An ultraleft grouping which calls itself the Workers League also issued a statement telling delegates that unless the NDP called for an immediate general strike, it had no claim to represent workers.

Far different was the response of the revolutionary socialists of the League for Socialist Action/ Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière and the Young Socialists/ Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes. The LSA and YS greeted the delegates as they arrived at the convention with a leaflet inviting them to visit their Ottawa headquarters, and explaining the LSA-YS support for the NDP. "The LSA/ LSO hailed the formation of the NDP ten years ago as a gigantic step forward by the Canadian working people in the struggle for a socialist Canada in a socialist world," the leaflet explained. "The decision of the working people to break with the parties of big business and build their own party — a labor party — posed to the workers, students and women the question of who should rule Canada — the handful of capitalists who now own and control our resources or the working people themselves."

The LSA has fought consistently to win the NDP to a socialist program and leadership. Pointing to the emergence of the Waffle Caucus as an expression of the growing demand in the party for a program of fundamental social change, the LSA statement concluded:

"A break with the reform-capitalism program of the present NDP leadership and the adoption of a socialist program would represent another huge step forward towards a socialist Canada. The LSA/ LSO, which is working to build an organization capable of leading a mass struggle for socialism, identifies fully with the fight to win the NDP to socialism taking place at this convention.

Some members of the LSA and YS were delegates to the convention from their local riding associations; they all participated in the Waffle caucus and spoke for the socialist position in the convention debates.

In addition, the Young Socialists set up a literature table in the convention foyer, selling $170 worth of books, pamphlets and the journals Labor Challenge, Young Socialist, and the new Quebec Trotskyist monthly, Libération. Quebec and women's liberation literature sold particularly well. Bestseller of the convention was the LSA/ LSO document For an Independent Socialist Quebec, which sold close to 200 copies.

The attractive poster advertising the Aug 20-25 Waterloo Socialist Educational Conference was displayed everywhere.

A leaflet distributed to delegates invited them to attend a forum in the LSA-YS headquarters on "Women's Liberation — Part of the Struggle for Socialism." LSA and YS members were very active in building the Ottawa antiwar demonstration attended by hundreds of convention delegates and addressed by T.C. Douglas and Robert Cliche.

Conversations with youthful delegates visiting the YS booth resulted in the formation of two new locals of the Young Socialists in southern Ontario.

Much of this socialist activity didn't meet with the approval of party officials, already quite uptight over the Waffle's impact. On the third day, the convention arrangements committee, using private security guards, closed down the YS booth and confiscated the literature. The Young Socialists promptly issued an open letter to delegates, protesting this blatant violation of the democratic traditions of the NDP. The issue was raised by several delegates on the convention floor, but ruled out of order. A petition demanding that the booth be allowed to operate quickly gathered over 400 signatures, including those of four leadership candidates, Waffle leaders, and several provincial presidents.

Embarrassed by this publicity, federal secretary Cliff Scotton told the convention the YS booth had been closed because such space was reserved for official sections of the NDP. (No one, however, explained the relationship of such organizations as Air Canada, which was allowed to establish a booth, to the NDP.) The incident was widely covered in the national news media.

As delegates streamed out of the convention on the last day following the election of the new leader, they were met by an LSA and YS leaflet summing up some of the principal lessons of the convention.

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Mothers Day demonstrations

Militant women show the way

photo by Mintz

FOR FREE ABORTION ON DEMAND. Mothers' Day demonstrators in Toronto carried coffin to symbolize the hundreds of Canadian women killed every year because they are forced to resort to quack abortionists.

Mother's Day weekend, May 8-9. The businessman's bonanza. The oppressive role of housewives and mothers hypocritically honored. Mother gets her cards and her gifts and her token breakfast in bed — and goes on to drudge her way through another soul-destroying year. Yes, we've seen mother's days before.

But this year, in centers right across Canada — Vancouver, Edmonton, Saskatoon, Winnipeg, Toronto, Kitchener, Montreal — women stood up and said, "Hey, wait. This is our day, right? Well, phoney on flowers and cards — there are a few other things we'd like to do today."

Like, join in the actions in each of these cities, calling for free abortion on demand.

Like, point to the Trudeau government and say, quit stalling around: We need abortions for every woman who wants one, we need child care centers for all children, we need safe birth control for all women including high school women.

Like, talk about what being a woman in our society really is. Get together with lots of our sisters and sing and march and shout. Maybe — for the first time — feeling that there's a way out of this mess, if enough of us get together and fight for it.

In Toronto, we sang "Tell it like it is, sisters." And right across the country, that's what we were doing. We were telling about our needs, we were telling about the rotten role the government is playing in regard to women. We were telling our sisters who weren't quite ready to come out with us to the parks and the squares on that day about the women's liberation movement, which they've seen viciously slandered by the media. We also showed some of the beauty which can come out of a movement of women even while they're still oppressed. Poetry, songs, skits and guerrilla theatre. . .

Stanley Park, Vancouver: the skit opens with a scene of a typical day in the life of a typical mother, cooking, cleaning, waiting on husband and children who are crowded around the TV. Complete with a live, talking television, spewing out advertisements on "Brazen Broad Bras" and super-sheer body suits. The skit covers a time period of a year, with the calendar pages flipping through to the month of May, and Mother's Day, when she receives a bronze medallion in a Mother of the Year contest her family had entered her in. As her already wearied body is presented with the award, the weight of it succeeds in giving her the final push to complete exhaustion, and she falls to the ground.

Kitchener: a three-day conference of women exploring many aspects of "women as housewives and mothers," culminating in a demonstration on Mother's Day.

Toronto: a march down Yonge Street and a women's festival at city hall, featuring many original women's liberation songs and chants written and led by a very talented sister.

Montreal: a spirited march to Royal Victoria Hospital — the first public action of two new women's liberation groups, the Women's Action Movement and the Mouvement l'Action pour la Liberation des Quebecoises.

Winnipeg: a skit portrayed Trudeau and his reaction before and after he became pregnant. A brief was presented to Deputy Health Minister Tabner — who managed to avoid commiting himself to anything besides studying the brief.

Later, the May 8 action kicked up a political storm. Transport Minister Borowski, forced to apologize publicly to the women's liberation movement for the fact that the legislature doors were closed to them, at the same time slandered the movement for free abortions as "immoral," viciously equating its partisans with streetwalkers. The Manitoba NDP government should be taking the initiative in establishing free abortion clinics and day care centers across the province. But it has been left to Cy Gonick, a government backbencher and Waffle member, to sponsor a private member's bill to repeal the abortion law.

The Mother's Day actions, centering on the need for free abortion on demand and carried simultaneously in more centers than ever before — showed many things. They showed the dynamism and excitement of the women's liberation movement. They showed that women new to the movement are eager to move out in public action, to reach out to all women and draw them into the movement.

Above all, they showed that only a perspective of mass action for women can hope to tap and direct the immense energies and talents developing in the women's liberation movement. The majority of the left and some sectors of the women's movement do not have this perspective: the actions on May 8-9 indicated that such elements will be bypassed by the exuberant, outward-moving, action-oriented women's liberation movement growing in Canada.

The actions themselves were small — ranging from 30 in Saskatoon to 250 in Vancouver. But these women represent just the tip of the iceberg, and Trudeau knows it. We can keep him on the run, as more and more women discover the exhilarating experience of building their own movement, and taking this movement out into the streets and the parks to "tell it like it is."

— Lis Angus, based on reports by Linda Blackwood (Winnipeg) and Correen Douglas (Vancouver)

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CLASS STRUGGLE, NOT CLASS COLLABORATION. Under Stalin, Communist party degenerated into supporting capitalist parties like Liberals. Trotskyists have consistently supported principle of independent labor political action, as represented today by NDP. Above, author Ross Dowson, executive secretary of LSA LSO, during 1948 campaign for Toronto mayoralty as candidate of LSA predecessor, Revolutionary Workers Party.

SUBSCRIPTION DRIVE

...Now spread the word!

by Penny Simpson

Here are the final results of the Labor Challenge fund drive: $460 over the final goal, and $2,460 more than we originally set for ourselves!

The success of the drive has made us very proud of our supporters across the country, many of whom came through despite the severe unemployment this year. Vancouver readers, for example, raised their goal from $3500 to $4500 and topped even that. It is your enthusiasm which has made Labor Challenge possible for another year — and also made us start thinking seriously about projects and improvements we've only dreamed about up to now. . .

But now that we've assured regular publication of Labor Challenge for the next year, we want the ideas of revolutionary socialism to be carried everywhere into the NDP, women's liberation, the antiwar, labor and student movements — everywhere that the new radical ferment is taking place.

Labor Challenge has to become a political tool in the hands of every activist, and only you can put the paper into those hands. Sell your friends subscriptions; it's only $3.00 a year

Fund Drive Results

	Quota	Received
Alberta	1025	805
British Columbia	4500	5004
Hamilton	400	312
Kitchener	150	80
Manitoba	100	—
Montreal	300	326
New Brunswick	100	66
Orillia	100	78
Ottawa	150	184
Richmond Hill	400	420
St Catharines	600	600
Saskatchewan	250	261
Sudbury	200	23
Toronto	8000	8891
General	475	160
Total:	**$16,750**	**$17,210**

advertisement

In the June YS:

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labor Challenge #32 May 1971

Montreal socialist sues cops over political harassment

by John Wilson

Despite the lapse of the Public Order Act, Montreal Police continue their outrageous campaign of harassment against socialists and independentists in an obvious attempt to intimidate them and their comrades.

On April 26, the cops called John Lejderman, a 23-year-old laboratory technician and member of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, into the office of the pharmaceutical company where he works and accused him in front of his boss of being a member of the Front de Libération du Québec, then an illegal organization. No charges were laid.

Lejderman sent Quebec Justice Minister Choquette a telegram demanding either an immediate written apology or an immediate trial to prove his innocence of the charge.

Not satisfied with smearing his reputation and putting his job in jeopardy, the police then raided Lejderman's home with a search warrant alleging possession of "writings, pamphlets, books etc., which advocate rebellion against the government of Canada relative to Article 60 of the Criminal Code."

Detective Ghirotto, in charge of the search, assaulted Lejderman when the latter refused to answer questions unless shown the contents of the warrant and had him locked up in the police station for two hours. During this time, the police carried off personal property, including a passport, and refused to allow Lejderman's companion to list these things.

Lejderman has launched a civil suit against the cops for damage to his reputation, plus compensation for any loss if he loses his job.

Civil liberties defenders have taken up the case, attempting to lay criminal charges against the cops for assault, false arrest, false imprisonment, theft and watching and besetting.

The Ligue des Droits de l'Homme (Civil Liberties Union) is investigating the case and writing the police chief demanding return of the goods seized. Quebec's vaunted ombudsman has evaded the case by declaring it not in his jurisdiction.

photo from Quebec-Presse

RETRAINING EQUALS UNEMPLOYMENT: Sign reads Down with unemployment, we want jobs.

Occupy trade school

Close to 2,000 adult students at the federal-provincial government trade school in Montreal occupied the school Feb. 10-15 to protest what they called "the futility of the program" — they graduate after 52 weeks with a new trade, but no jobs and no more unemployment insurance.

The trade students demanded that the governments either guarantee them jobs on graduation, or prolong the courses

labor Challenge #3 1971

Unionist runs for NDP in Quebec by-election

The Quebec NDP is making a strong bid n the May 31 federal by-election in Chambly riding. The party is fielding Emile Boudreau, Quebec vice-president ınd a staff representative of the Steelworkers union, as its candidate.

Announcing his candidature May 7, Boudreau said "We are going to try to ıresent in Quebec the option adopted at the 'ebruary convention of the Quebec NDP: a new federalism, a new alliance based on the right of Quebec to self-determination in all areas where it deems necessary."

The NDP is appealing especially to ındependentist sentiment in this riding bordering Montreal, hard hit by layoffs and factory closures. (Chambly is the ıome of many Steelworkers at Stelco and Dosco, as well as employees of United Aircraft.) In an ad in the trade union-sponsored weekly Québec-Presse, the party refutes the view that independentists should take no part in federal politics.

"For the time being, we are still in a federal regime, and if we are not to leave it by force of arms we will have to use democratic means."

It suggests that some sort of alliance with English Canada will have to be negotiated "when Quebec has proclaimed ıs sovereignty." Meanwhile, we need in Ottawa a government "which is responsive to the aspirations of the people. From the perspective of a sovereign Quebec, we must have in Ottawa reasonable negotiators who will not send the army to crush the 'Quebec rebels'. . .

"In both cases this can only be the New Democratic Party."

"We're out for victory," says Quebec NDP president Raymond Laliberté. He adds that a special convention has now been set for the end of September to decide on relations with the Canadian NDP in the wake of the recent federal convention's defeat of the Quebec position on self-determination.

photo by White

Emile Boudreau

Centennial of the Paris Commune
First workers' government

(From Labor Challenge May 1971)

by David Goldstein

"Workers," proclaimed the Central Committee of the Paris Commune, *"do not be deceived: it is the great struggle: parasitism and labor, exploitation and production are at deathgrips. If you are sick of vegetating in ignorance and squatting in the muck; if you want your children to be men gaining the reward of their labor, not a sort of animal trained for the workshop and for war, fertilizing with their sweat the fortune of an exploiter or pouring out their blood for a despot; if you want the daughters whom you cannot bring up and watch over as you would, to be no longer instruments of pleasure in the arms of the aristocracy of wealth; if you want debauch and poverty no longer to drive men to the police and women to prostitution; if finally, you desire the reign of justice, workers, be intelligent, arise! and let your stout hands fling beneath your feet the foul reaction!"*

With this stirring manifesto, the workers of Paris one hundred years ago, in the spring of 1871, proceeded to establish their rule over Paris.

How did the first workers government in history come into being? What lessons can those battling for socialism now learn from the experience of the Paris workers during their 72 days of power?

The Paris Commune was born in the war between Bismarck's Prussia and Napoleon Bonaparte's Second Empire of France, a war which, before it resulted in unqualified defeat for France, intensified all the contradictions of the monarchial Empire by placing heavy economic and military burdens on the peasants and workers of France.

With the capture of Bonaparte himself by Prussian troops in September 1870, the monarchist Empire was replaced by a Government of National Defense led by liberal capitalist elements. However, in Paris itself, as the Prussian army laid siege to the city for 135 days, the liberal elements shared power with the Paris workers in administering the city through in elected Central Committee which armed the population.

In January, 1871, the Government of National Defense surrendered to Bismarck's troops, declared an armistice and proceeded to disarm the women and men of Paris. However, as the government's troops marched into Paris, women and children fraternized with the soldiers while many workers resisted attempts to disarm them. On March 18, the Central Committee assumed the political leadership of Paris.

Under siege and fighting daily for their survival, the new workers government of Paris, its mandate formalized by elections on March 26, succeeded in implementing a whole range of popular social reforms: separation of church and state and nationalization of church property;

abolition of capital punishment; abolition of the army and creation of a popular militia; confirmation of the election of foreigners to the Commune government, and other measures which protected tenants and workers, both employed and unemployed, from exploitation by financiers and capitalists.

As this most democratic government to date began to lay the basis for a socialist transformation, the liberal French government headed by Louis Adolphe Thiers, Bismarck's troops waiting in the background, moved against the Commune. After fierce resistance by the Parisians, beaten back street by street, the Commune was finally smashed on May 28. Up to 80,000 workers were slaughtered by the reaction.

The crushing of the Commune cannot obscure its great significance for the world workers' movement. France had known many revolutionary upheavals since 1789. But this was the first time in its history — in the history of the world — that the working class had moved into the forefront of the revolutionary struggle.

As early as 1847, Karl Marx had recognized the need to fragment and disperse the government, army and social institutions of capitalism. But as to what would replace this apparatus of oppression, he could only say that it would be the "proletariat organized as the ruling class." The experience of 1871 enabled him to draw his principal conclusion that it was not enough that the working class seize hold of the old state machinery; they must destroy it and **create a new state — a workers state.** Lenin incorporated this as the central lesson in his *State and Revolution*, written in the midst of the 1917 Russian Revolution.

The democracy of the Commune had a **class character**. As the middle and upper classes fled Paris during the siege, it became clear that the "majority" of the Commune's central committee was composed of workers, impoverished peasants and artisans.

It was inevitable that the Commune move in the direction of socialism. The new class that had come to power exercised power in its own interests, and the measures that it adopted and planned to adopt necessarily drove the Commune in opposition to the old ruling layers.

To ensure the accountability of the workers representatives, and to protect the Commune against the incursion of privileged strata, all representation allowances were abolished, pay of government workers was reduced to the level of workers' wages, monetary privileges were abolished for officials and all officials were to be elected and subject to recall at any time. As well, there was to be an integration of the executive and legislative aspects of government, so that those who would form the laws would be required to test them in practice.

The key factor in the defeat of the Commune was the absence of a leadership with a clear program and understanding of the nature of the workers uprising, a homogeneous political outlook based on common experience, and deep roots gained in struggling side by side along with the oppressed classes. With a party made up of such cadres at their disposal, the Paris workers would have moved earlier against the liberal representatives of France's ruling class, with greater decisiveness and speed. Had such a party existed at the moment the Bonapartist Empire collapsed, it could have mobilized all the workers and poor peasants of France not only

against Bismarck but against the "democratic" representatives of the ruling class of France as well.

From September, 1870 to March, 1871, the enemies of the Paris workers were constantly losing ground. The workers despised them; the soldiers were hostile to their officers. Had the Paris workers struck against Thiers and his cohorts in September, all the ministers with Thiers at their head could have been taken prisoners in their Versailles retreat. The whole governmental band could have been crushed almost without the spilling of blood.

Instead the leaders of the Paris uprising hesitated, waited, hoped futilely that Thiers would respect the legality of the Commune. Six decisive months passed which gave Thiers a breathing space to reinforce his positions. He then launched the offensive which smashed the Commune.

But despite its shortcomings and weaknesses, the Commune deeply affected all the greatest revolutionary thinkers, from Marx to Trotsky. Each of them studied its lessons, both negative and positive, and sought to apply their conclusions in practice. For Marx, the experience of the Commune preoccupied much of his later writings, clarifying his earlier theories on the nature of the state, workers democracy, the program of nationalization and the question of revolutionary leadership.

Those of us who are attempting to complete the work initiated by the Communards one hundred years ago can gain inspiration from the heroism and determination of the Paris workers as well as rich lessons to apply in our struggle to create the workers regimes which one day will remove the barbarism and oppression of capitalism.

Women played a leading role

A notable feature of the Paris Commune, very relevant today, is the leadership role played by the women of Paris in many of the Commune's activities.

Louise Michel emerges as the Commune's leading revolutionary woman. A teacher, soldier, poet, scientist and revolutionary leader, she played an indispensable role in creating the women's battalion in the Paris militia, in providing concrete proposals for political action, and planning out an educational system based on scientific thought. When Thiers' reactionary courts identified her as a "ringleader" of the Commune and sentenced her to exile for life, she regarded the sentence as a tribute to her revolutionary conviction.

Women also played a crucial role in supporting the armed militia by organizing soup kitchens, establishing food, production and consumer cooperatives. More important, they intervened in the political discussions through political clubs entirely composed of women. As a result of the efforts of these revolutionary women, the Communards disposed of many of the sexually discriminatory laws of the past, adopting freer laws regarding marriage, education and economic rights.

As Louise Michel observed, "In rebellion alone woman is at ease, trampling upon both prejudice and sufferings. All intelligent women will sooner or later rise in rebellion."

Central Office,
334 Queen St. W.,
Toronto 2B, Ont.,

June 23, 1971.

To: CC Members, Branch & Local organizers,
N.D.P. coordinators
Re: 1) developments in Waffle
2) our intervention in N.D.P.

Dear Comrades:

Recent issues of Labor Challenge have indicated important developments are taking place in the New Democratic Party, now hightened by the N.D.P. victory in Saskatchewan, presenting opportunities for the intervention of revolutionary socialists in this milieu.

In Fredericton, our comrades, who operate openly as members of the Young Socialists, have been instrumental in inducing the N.D.P. to contest the municipal elections for the first time; three of our comrades were candidates, including Ron Gaudet who ran for the mayoralty. In Saskatchewan we have made an unprecendented independant intervention in the N.D.P. election campaign around the special four-page supplement in Labor Challenge, and the socialist youth rally we organized to draw in the independent sectors of the youth radicalization, such as women's liberation, antiwar and student movements, in support of the N.D.P. In British Columbia, we have just gone through an important sorting-out process within the Waffle around the efforts to make the Waffle contest the party leadership, emerging as leaders of the most viable sector of the Waffle against the Stalinists and hard-core social democrats who supported Barrett.

While in Fredericton we can see most clearly the crucial importance of our tiny cadre -- thanks to the late development of the N.D.P. , parallel with the current youth radicalization and our own expansion in that area, we are in the leadership of the New Brunswick Waffle, which is about to take the leadership of the provincial N.D.P. -- in all these instances, we have played an important leadership role in building the left wing of the labor party. Our independent intervention in the recent federal convention and the B.C. convention are further examples of how our forces are responding to the challenges opening up.

Coinciding with an increase in popular support for the N.D.P., registered in public opinion polls, the growth of the Waffle is the key new development. At the federal convention the Waffle candidate received the support of a clear majority of riding association delegates and of a significant number of rank-and-file delegates from trade union affiliates.

The development of a mass left wing marks the beginning of a period of considerable ferment in the labor party. The right-wing leadership, under the conflicting pressures that flow from the uneven character of the present radicalization, is confronted with a dilemma.

On the one hand, the increasing electoral opportunities before the party pressure it to conform to the bourgeois parties, to present itself as the "respectable" alternative to the "Liberals, Tories and Socreds, On the other hand, within the party it comes under increasing pressure to respond programitically to the far--reaching demands of the radicalizing layers, particularly youth. This instability is accentuated by the right wings lack of a firm parliamentary base, hence its restricted capacity to operate indepently of the membership.

What this means for the broad left in the party was illustrated recently in Ontario. The Tory government, in an effort to outflank the NDP, organized a conference on "economic and cultural nationalism. NDP leader Stephen Lewis ridiculed it as uneccessary and undesirable, telling Premier Davis that he agreed only with the latter's refusal to invite Waffle leaders Mel Watkins and Jim Laxer to address his conference. Yet within a few weeks, Lewis had to eat his words. The Waffle organized a couter-conference stole the featured speaker from the Tory conference, and arranged a debate between Laxer and Trudeau's ex-minister Eric Kierans. In order not to be outflanked on his left as well as his right on the popular issue of U.S. domination, Lewis was obliged to swing the NDP behind the Waffle iniated conference. And so we have a widely-pulicized conference on U.S. control featuring Waffle leaders as the major speakers! And the Tories and mass media are baiting Lewis about the influence of the left wing within the NDP!

Our movement has been a bit slow to respond to these new opportunities. As a small cadre movment heavily involve in the independent, most viable sectors of the radicalization -- antiwar, student and women,s liberation movements --we have empirically developed a certain indifference to developments in the,mass working-class movement. We must now become much more active within, toward the NDP, re-orient our forces toward this milieu without in any way undercutting our efforts in other areas. We must be prepared to allocate more forces to work in the NDP, and we must move now to make the NDP a more relevant part of all our activities than it has been in recent years.

In the first place, this means concretely that all comrades who do not hold NdP memberships must immediately apply for membership in the party.

The Political Committee is preparing a document on the Waffle and the NDP for presentation at the CC plenum in August. This document will not only deal with our work in the NDP but the role of our movement in areas like Manitoba and Saskatchewen where there are NDP provincial governements. Suffice it here to mention a few generalizations relevant to our work in the Waffle.

The Waffle is a contradictory phenomen. It expresses the rebelliousness of the youth radicalization, yet reflects also the political inhibitions inherent in the NDPs reformism. It is a serious poilitical mmvement in the programmatic challenge that it presents to the NDP, yet its leadership frequently manifests a light-minded approach to the party and politics in general. It is very hetrogenous, embracing a wide range of left opinion in the party, from revolutionary and internationalist to liberal-reformist and patriotic. It has the support of at least a third of the party membership ,yet it is practically excluded from representation among the party officialdom or elected parliamentarians. Its leadership has an ambivalent attitude to the NDP itself which flows from an inadequate understanding of the nature of working class politics in this country..The Waffle is essentially reformist; the vast majority of its adherents and leadership do not understand the,class nature of the capitalist state, the role and dynamics of the working class in the struggle for power, nor, of course,,the vital role of the revolutionary vanguard party.

But the Waffle expresses the pressure of the radicalization on the NDP. If it expresses the contradictions of that radicalization, it also presents us with an important milieu for revolutionary socialist action. The essential thrust of the issues which inspire the Waffle-- U.S. imperialist domination, the oppression of women, student struggles, Quebec nationalism-- is toward revolutionary conclusions. Thus we should be very open-minded in our approach to the Waffle, and wary of hasty generalizations based on what has been a relatively limited experience in this developing milieu.

Above all, we must avoid applying the same criteria to the Waffle that we apply to our own organization. The Waffle's viability is <u>not</u> dictated by the degree to which it corresponds to a democratic centralist vanguard party.

Our experience in the Waffle up to now has been a mixed bag. In some areas, we have been included in its leadership. In others, we have been excluded right from the beginning. Generally, we have of late been excluded. We have experienced much red-baiting in the Waffle. In part, red-baiting results in some areas from the influence of Stalinists and ex-Stalinists. In part, it also reflects the Waffle's origins within the NDP, and the intense pressure of the right wing NDP leadership in the Waffle to purge itself of its revolutionary elements.

In general, the tendency in the long run is for the red-baiting problem to decline. The growing radicalization-- and the growth of the Waffle itself-- makes it much more difficult for the right wing to red-bait the left in the party. And to the extent that the growth of the left opens up the Waffle to fresh new elements, the red-baiters within the Waffle are discredited. The prevailing sentiment is one of increasing openness to radical and revolutionary viewpoints. However, we must not concede an inch to red-baiting where it is encountered, but reply to it, patiently educating the ranks about the right of revolutionary socialists to participate in the NDP.

In some areas, such as southern Ontario, there is a/ tendency in the Waffle which is very negative toward involvement in the life of the NDP. It is important to remember that there will be talk of quitting the party as long as there is no major, generalized challenge to the bureaucracy in the trade union base of the party. But it is precisely there, with the development of militant caucuses in some key trade unions (Steel, Auto, etc.) that the Waffle faces its biggest opportunities and its biggest challenge. Trade union militants are inevitably drawn toward the Waffle, because it poses most clearly to them, at this stage, <u>political</u> opposition to the brass. If the Waffle can succeed in building a base among trade union militants in the next period-- and we have every interest in furthering such a development-- it will become a much more <u>serious</u> force within the NDP, and the party in turn will become a much more attractive arena for radicals. They will be inclined to join the NDP, not in order to engage in reformist electoral politics (as with most NDP activists at present), but because they see that the party can become a vital arena for socialist action. An example of such a development is the newly formed Southern Ontario Waffle-Labor Committee which has attracted a wide layer of militants in a number of important Unions.

Our approach to the Waffle in the next period should be along the following general lines:

1) We want to encourage the Waffle to take initiatives within the framework of the NDP, to push the party into action in support of the left's anticapitalist demands. Examples of where it has done this successfully were the Waffle cross-country demonstrations last September against an energy resources deal with Washington, and the

Ontario counter-conference on economic and cultural "nationalism". We must encourage the Waffle to broaden its outreach toward greater involvement of and in the party's riding associations and local trade union affiliates.

2) Where the Waffle already has strong support, as in riding executives dominated by Wafflers, they must use these ridings as "beach-heads" or bases to set an example to the rest of the party, making them models of rank-and-file participation in political action, perhaps organizing regular monthly public forums on current political issues, even starting riding newspapers which can consolidate the NDP influence in the community. Official election candidates should be urged to emphasize the best features of the NDP program in their campaigns.

3) The Waffle must stimulate political debate in the party on a continuing basis, not just around conventions or other extraordinary mobilizations. Wafflers, and in the first place our own comrades, should write for the NDP press. Concisely-written, educational articles that put forward our basic socialist concepts can do much to build the reputation and influence of comrades and the left. Often official statements by the party leadership can serve as a convenient foil for our critical intervention into the discussion--e.g. A reply to Dave Barrett on why trade union affiliations are good for the party; to Allan Blakeney on why compulsory arbitration in labor disputes is always wrong; to Stephen Lewis on why the Ontario NDP should defend Quebec's right to national self-determination. If the NDP press won't publish it, Labor Challenge and Libération will always be interested!

4) NDP comrades should be prepared to contest and accept some executive positions in the NDP. In general, it is our experience that the most useful positions are, in order of importance, seats on provincial council, and, on the riding level, educational director and riding secretary.

5) The role of the Young Socialists is particularly important. Our best period of recruitment in the NDP was around the New Democratic Youth, where and when we were the leadership of the NDY. Each period of intervention (there were three major ones during the 1960's) ended in the expulsion of our cadres; reformists don't tolerate revolutionary youth organizations. Today, the NDY is in shambles or non-existent in most areas. Even the Waffle upsurge has failed to revive it. But the new radicalization in and around the NDP presents the Young Socialists as the only cross-country socialist youth organization, with unique opportunities to become the voice of the Waffle and the NDP among youth, particularly on the campuses. While maintaining its autonomy and presenting its full revolutionary program for youth, the YS should pick up and build Waffle issues and campaigns on the campuses. In provincial and federal elections, the YS should aim to implement the "red university" concept by making the campuses organizing centers for the NDP campaign.

By showing in action how revolutionaries orient to the mass workers' party, we can popularize our mass action strategy and discredit opponent tendencies (e.g. ultralefts, Maoists, Stalinists, etc.) which are hostile to the NDP.

6) More than ever before, we must look for ways to draw in the NDP around our other, independent activities-- in particular, the antiwar and women's liberation movements. The NDP, even more than the Waffle, has shown its responsiveness to our program and actions against the war; we must redouble our efforts to get the party to officially endorse antiwar actions, to get ridings to send delegates to antiwar conferences and mobilize contingents in antiwar demonstrations.

The stepped-up campaign for abortion must make special efforts to involve the NDP, which is federally on record for repeal of the anti-abortion laws.

7) Last but by no means least, we must create a new consciousness of the NDP in the LSA and the YS. The NDP is the most valuable mass-action experience we can have. NDP politics are the politics of the class, where we confron all the major political issues, and can popularize our entire program to the widest number of politicized workers. As a result, the NDP experience serves to "politicize" our own movement, sharpening the polemical abilities of comrades, increasing their awareness of political questions, and creating a more serious atmosphere around our movement.

We must move to beef up our NDP fractions, involving more comrades in the milieu, and orient our press more closely to NDP activities and issues. As a first step toward re-orienting camrades and contacts toward the NDP, we should increase the number of internal educationals and forums based on NDP issues. Above all, we must make intensive efforts, starting now, to recruit from the Waffle and the NDP.

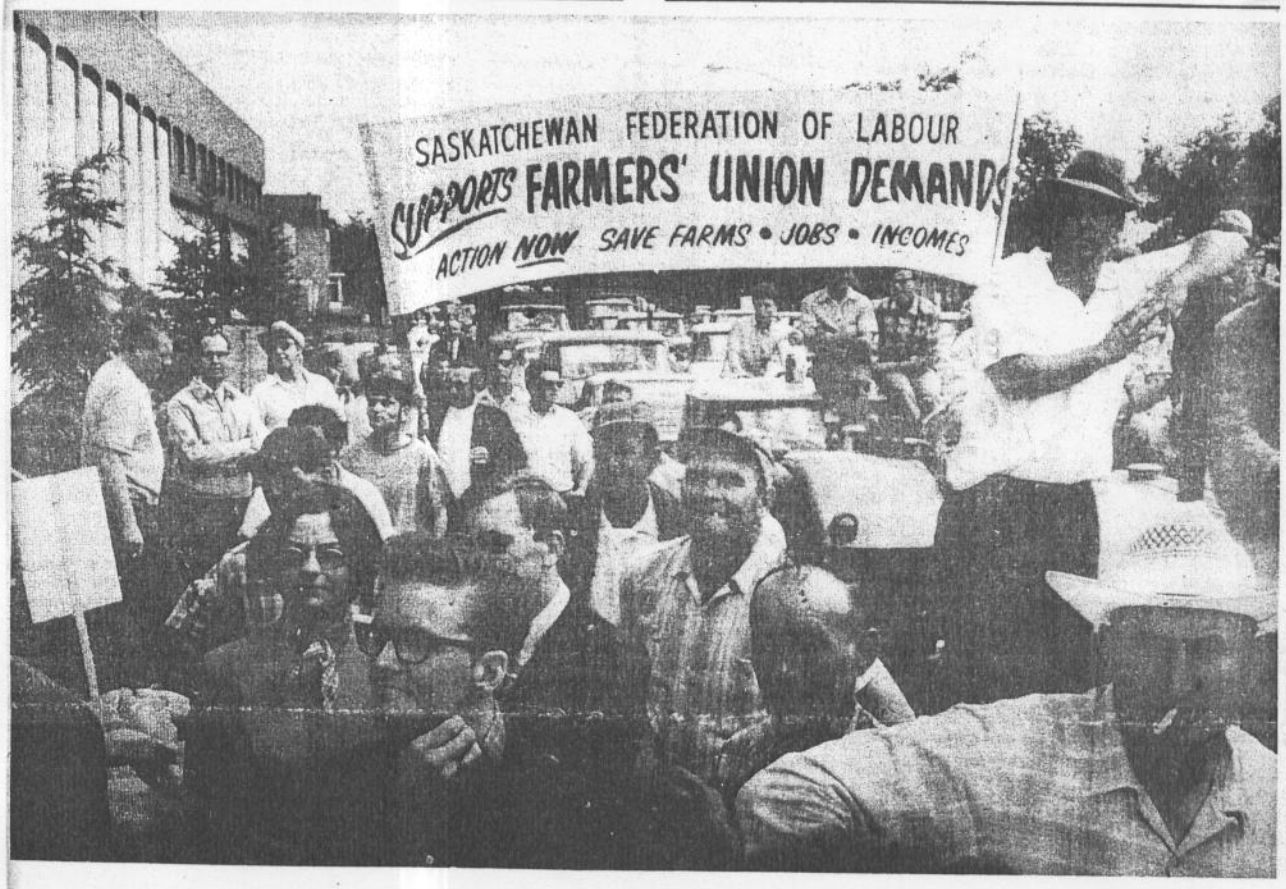
Comradely,
Dick Fidler
Anne Macdonald — R.D.
for the Political Committee

Elect Sask. NDP to power!

labor Challenge

June 1971 #33 10 cents

Special issue on the election



FARMER-LABOR UNITY. Contingent from Saskatchewan Federation of Labor joined in when militant farmers confronted Trudeau in Regina, Summer 1969.

Labor, farmers unite vs. Thatcher

by The Editors

"Free enterprise or socialism."

That, says Premier Ross Thatcher, is the choice confronting the Saskatchewan voters in the June 23 election campaign.

In a real sense, he's right. The big issue, overriding all others, is whether Saskatchewan is to continue to be ruled by big business through the Liberal party, masquerading as defenders of "free enterprise," or whether the working people are going to elect the New Democratic Party to power, thereby laying the basis for far-reaching measures that can set Saskatchewan on the road to socialism.

Thatcher says he and his Liberal government stand for "free enterprise." Opposition leader Allan Blakeney, launching the NDP campaign, noted that Thatcher doesn't offer to substitute the old free enterprise health system for the medicare plan we won ten years ago with the NDP. (Although we had a taste of his "free enterprise" when the Liberals imposed deterrent fees, a crude attempt to destroy the principle long upheld by the NDP, that health care is the right of all regardless of ability to pay.)

The people of Saskatchewan have seen the effects of Liberal "free enterprise" for seven years now — in the rape of our natural resources, the wheat marketing scandal, the vicious use of police and courts against workers seeking to organize for a living wage, in the harassment of young people who express their alienation, in the continued oppression of the Native peoples. All are victims of the pro-big business policies of this arrogant, cynical hardware millionaire and his red-baiting entourage.

The Liberals rule by fear. This time it's the anti-labor ticket, a scare campaign calculated to stampede the voters into the Liberal camp in headlong flight from. . .the trade unions.

But who's scared? It's not the growing hundreds of thousands of Saskatchewan working people, women, youth who are coming to see this reactionary government for what it is. They are angry. They're what the NDP campaign is all about.

Who are these "extremists" Thatcher diatribes against, who "infest"

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the NDP?

They're us. The farmers who have blocked the roads with their tractors and marched on the legislature to protest the ruthless attempts of agribusiness to drive them off the land. The hospital workers who took on the courts and the government in their heroic strike. The students who have moved into action against the cutbacks in education spending, for control of the universities and schools. The women, organizing for their fulfillment as human beings against a sexist society which denies them the right even to control their own bodies. The Native peoples, beginning to organize against this racist capitalist society which has robbed them of their rights and totally excluded them from its "affluence."

This alliance of forces behind the NDP campaign cuts broad and deep into the population, encompassing a wide range of viewpoints, united in determination to do away with big business government. A vital element among these forces are the members of the Young Socialists and the League for Socialist Action.

Many of them longstanding, leading activists in the Saskatchewan NDP, leaders of the student, antiwar and women's liberation movements, they have found their way to the class-struggle concepts and internationalist viewpoint of revolutionary socialism, pointing the way for the thousands of women and youth who will follow.

Within the New Democratic Party, the most militant elements among these broad social movements come together in the Waffle caucus. Thatcher has good reason to fear the Waffle — for it contains the dynamic forces who constitute the core of the growing anticapitalist opposition in this province.

The Young Socialists and League for Socialist Action will be moving out boldly in this election, urging all these forces to join in the NDP campaign, to thrust the party toward power.

The NDP leadership may falter and retreat in the face of Thatcher's red-baiting. Past experience indicates they will do everything possible to dilute and deny the radical aspects of even the present NDP program, in a hopeless attempt to ward off the disfavor of the mass media.

See page 2

Build the NDP campaign

Continued from page 1

But socialists in the NDP must see the election as precisely the best time to put forward our program, to reach new masses of people, explaining and winning them to the concept of a socialist Saskatchewan in a socialist Canada.

The NDP is much more than the present Blakeney leadership. We must work to see that the party's campaign truly speaks for the aspirations of its members and supporters — for a real change in Saskatchewan.

The presence of a strong organized left in the Saskatchewan NDP holds out the possibility that an NDP government here can right from the beginning be confronted by powerful pressures to go much further than, say, the vacillating, hesitant and all-too-modest reforms of the Manitoba NDP government under Ed Schreyer.

Saskatchewan can become a beachhead for the NDP, an example to the rest of Canada, of North America. Student-faculty control? Workers control? Women's liberation? Red Power? An NDP government can mean all these things — putting the powerful resources of government at the disposal of all the ongoing movements for social change.

"Free enterprise" — big business exploitation — or socialism. The challenge is there. It's ours to take up.

NDP to power in Saskatchewan!

labor Challenge #33

Major issues point to need for a socialist Saskatchewan

Resources: end the sellout through public ownership

by Ullrich Fischer

SASKATOON — Since it came to power in 1964 the Liberal government of Saskatchewan has done nothing to develop the province's resources in the interests of the people. The only beneficiaries have been the owners of International Potash Company, Karl Landogger — owner of 70 percent of the Prince Albert pulp mill — and a few other American and eastern Canadian capitalists.

The Liberal Party plans no changes. On announcing the election Thatcher boasted that "the Liberals will ask for a mandate to proceed with such projects as the Athabaska Pulp Mill at Dore Lake; the expanded coal projects at Estevan; the iron mine at Choiceland; the Uranium development at Wollaston Lake. . .We invite support on the basis of our record." And what a record!

The Athabaska Pulp Mill will be the same as the Prince Albert mill where millionaire Landogger invests 10 percent and gets over 70 percent of the profits, no reforestation is required by the company, there are no significant pollution controls. And only 400 workers are employed at the mill compared to the 2,000 jobs promised by the Thatcher government. Capitalist "development of resources" boils down to huge profits for a handful of men with increased taxes for working people and rampant pollution and deforestation. The history of Saskatchewan is a history of exploitation of the province's resources and people by outside business interests.

The record for potash is the same. Production is down more than 10 percent since 1969. More than a hundred workers have already been laid off and many others are working a 32-hour work week with no increase in hourly wage. The agreements made between the Thatcher government and the New Mexico potash magnates mean that production is proceeding at only 45 percent capacity. Pollution from the mines continues to deteriorate the Saskatchewan environment.

Most of the so-called development schemes of the Liberals are shrouded in secrecy. Thatcher expects voters to see without reading and look without seeing.

Saskatchewan's biggest resource is agriculture which accounts for 85 percent of the province's production. Yet the Liberals sat silent when over 100 rail points were closed. The few new jobs created at the expense of raping the province's natural and human resources do not even begin to meet the needs of the hundreds of farmers driven from the land each month by the Liberals' agribusiness policies.

The widespread poverty and degradation of the native people in the North continues unabated in the midst of Thatcher's "northern development."

The rape of Saskatchewan's resources and environment can be ended only by placing them under the control of workers and farmers. The NDP calls for the establishment of a "Saskatchewan Development Corporation which will mobilize capital for public investment in economic development". The NDP it pledges, "will give first priority to public ownership."

The complete alternative to Thatcher's capitalist policies of resource development will begin with the public ownership of all resource industries, the development of resource-based industries and by placing control in the hands of native people, labor, farmers and women. The establishment of an NDP government is a crucial step in this direction.

HOLDING A MIRROR UP TO NATURE
OR-- BEAUTY IS IN THE EYE OF THE SHAREHOLDER

labor Challenge #33

WOMEN MARCH AGAINST UNEMPLOYMENT. Some 500 demonstrators — including Regina Women's Liberation group, the Seekers of Security (a welfare rights' group), the Regina W... the NDP, and Union — ... employment in ... Trudeau's ... last February.

Women's liberation backed by Sask. NDP program

by Karen Kopperud

The past few years have seen an awakening of women to their own oppression — their oppression *as women* which inhibits the full development of their personalities, limits their futures, and distorts human relationships.

The NDP has moved to meet the growing needs of women. The last Saskatchewan NDP convention passed a resolution on women's rights which includes many of the demands of the women's liberation movement. The proposals include:

— Free distribution of birth control information and devices to anyone requesting such, to be administered as part of Medicare;

— Abolition of abortion laws, free abortions to be available to any woman upon her request from qualified medical personnel in properly-equipped clinics administered under Medicare;

— Drastic revision of course content at all levels of education to combat stereotyping of male-female roles and to write women back into history along with all other oppressed groups;

— The establishment of extensive programs of free government-financed child care for working parents, open 24 hours a day and controlled by the parents using them. Schools to be integrated into this, extending hours of operation to provide programs and facilities for school-age children whose parents work beyond school hours;

— In co-operation with the Saskatchewan Federation of Labor, extensive and vigorously enforced equal-pay-for-equal-work legislation designed to smash all present circumventions;

— Inclusion in the Labor Relations Act of the right of a woman to pregnancy leave with pay and a guarantee of employment at same pay and seniority upon return to work within some reasonable time, related where necessary to medical considerations.

These and other proposals lay the basis for a serious NDP program for women, a program which can do a great deal to contribute to the liberation of women. Women are active in the NDP working as women's liberationists to make women's liberation an integral part of the party.

Unlike the Liberals, the NDP has no commitments to the big business interests that are responsible for and profit from the oppression of women. As the party of the working class, it is responsible to those forces which can change the basis of this society that oppresses women.

The challenge to women's liberationists in this election is to join in the campaign to elect the NDP to carry power, to carry the demand for the implementation of these proposals into the election campaign, to every campaign meeting, to challenge the candidates where they stand on these crucial issues. By committing the NDP publicly to this program, we can carry the message of women's liberation to thousands of Saskatchewan women.

In the process, we can help make the NDP the mobilizing vehicle for women's liberation it must become if it is to remain relevant as a force for social change.

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A first for New Brunswick

Fredericton NDP in mayoralty bid

by Terry Hamilton-Smith

FREDERICTON — On June 14, Fredericton workers will have the opportunity to elect a labor-socialist city government.

In its first entry into municipal politics, the New Democratic Party in New Brunswick is running candidates for mayor, city council and school board.

The Fredericton and District Labor Council is also making its first bid for municipal power, running two candidates for council.

The NDP candidate for mayor is Ron Gaudet, a 21-year-old unemployed Acadian who is executive secretary of the Fredericton Committee Against the War in Indochina and a member of the Young Socialists.

NDP city council candidates are Alistair Robertson and Robert Elgee; and for school board, Daphne Taylor, Mike Gormley and Don Vanwart. Gormley and Vanwart are both high school students. Elgee and Vanwart are also members of the Young Socialists.

Although not openly endorsing the NDP candidates, the labor council is actively supporting the NDP campaign. The NDP has openly endorsed the labor council candidates. One of these is Phil Booker, president of the labor council and head of the Canadian Union of Public Employees in New Brunswick.

With the candidates of the labor council, there is in effect a labor slate contesting over half the positions in the election, against the business candidates.

A key demand of the NDP program for city government is for a massive program of resident-controlled public housing for low and middle-income families. Only 64 units of public housing have been built in the city's history, and over 700 families are presently living in housing described by officials as "poor" or "very poor."

Coupled with this is the demand for control of profits and prices in real estate and construction industries. This strikes directly at the interests of the incumbent mayor Bird and his partners in Bird Construction Inc., Bird Housing Products Ltd. and Fredericton Housing, Inc.

Other demands include municipalization of transit services (the only bus line is owned by New Brunswick monopolist K.C. Irving), provision of municipal facilities for trade union organizing in the city, disarming of the city police, free birth control information and devices on demand, and free abortion counselling and referral service.

The NDP school board program demands community control of school administration and a fully-elected school board.

The NDP demands establishment of an Acadian-controlled French-language school and such school facilities as Black and native communities decide are necessary for their own education.

For the first time, the rights of students are an issue in the campaign. Students must have the right to control their own activities without interference from the school administration or teachers. The principals' power of veto over student government must be abolished.

New Brunswick is one of the few provinces with no kindergartens and in Fredericton no child care facilities are available to women in the community. The NDP is making one of its central demands the immediate provision of a kindergarten and the use of school facilities in a program of free community-controlled child care.

The entry of the NDP into municipal politics in New Brunswick is exploding the traditional myth about "non-partisan" candidates nominated by "citizens committees." The Liberals and Conservatives are uniting against the NDP initiative. At the same time, through the support of the Fredericton and District Labor Council the NDP is winning a hearing in the union locals in the city.

Although only a first step, already the business interests behind the "non-partisan" candidates are being exposed and the campaign slogan "Socialism Works for Labor" is taking on concrete meaning.

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FOR RIGHT TO CONTROL THEIR BODIES. Irish women's liberation militants, carrying birth control devices, parade in Dublin in defiance of 1935 Irish Republic law.

Women's liberation news

Women are un-persons according to gov't census

Canadian women might just as well not exist, as far as the Canadian government is concerned, to judge from the 1971 Census form. Some examples of the way it insults women were exposed by the Toronto Women's Caucus in a press release:

"The head of the household is the husband rather than the wife";

Section 15 (to be answered by the head of the household): "To what ethnic group did you or your ancestor on the male side belong on coming to this continent?";

Section 31B, "How many hours did you work without pay in the operation of a family business or farm? Do not include housework in own home";

Section 29 (to be completed by women who have been married — the only question specifically directed at women): "How many babies have you had, not counting still-births?"

The Toronto Women's Caucus strongly protested this blatant contempt for women:

"These questions and stipulations clearly show where women stand in the eyes of our government and its statisticians: *nowhere*. Statistics on *women* in Canada just don't count. Our ancestry doesn't count. What we do doesn't count — especially housework, that non-job which takes up an average of some 90 hours per week.

"The only thing that counts is the babies we have — and only the live, legitimate babies at that. . .Above all our needs don't count. The census questionnaire shows most clearly the government's lack of seriousness about implementing the Report of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women."

If Ottawa were serious, the TWC notes, it would have asked a whole series of questions which would aid it in implementing the recommendations of the commission — such as questions pertaining to birth control, abortion and day-care centers, rather than the number of flush toilets and color TV sets we have.

The Montreal Women's Action Movement issued a similar protest, headed "Women — the federal government considers you a non-person in its 1971 census." The WAM also pointed out that one study estimated the value of the work of Canada's housewives at $8 billion. In Vancouver, the Status of Women Action and Coordinating Council of B.C. protested the "puritanical approach" of the census in refusing to recognize common-law marriages.

In both Montreal and Toronto, protest actions were held on Census Day, June 1, receiving spirited support from many women passersby, and wide publicity.

Irish women

Irish women's liberationists recently dramatically defied a 1935 law banning birth control devices in the Republic. After making a one day shopping dash to Belfast, Northern Ireland where contraceptives are legal, they proceeded to the customs barrier in Dublin and hurled devices across the barrier to hundreds of cheering women on the other side. The women dashed up to a customs officer, dramatically swallowed a birth control pill and cried, "I have just asserted by constitutional rights. What are you going to do about it?"

The Irish church, in the face of mounting support for the campaign launched a counter offensive. The Archbishop of Dublin declared that "if legislation is passed which offends the objective moral law it will be a curse upon our country."

by Ellie Kirzner

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Toronto rally launches Black student defense

by Tara Deosaran

A rally in defense of the Sir George Williams University students, still being tried for their participation in the computer center occupation two years ago, was held in Toronto May 20.

The rally was the first action organized by the Committee to Aid the Sir George Williams Students which was formed three weeks ago in response to the convictions of Ann Cools, Rosie Douglas and Brenda Dash in Montreal. There is widespread dissatisfaction, especially in the black community, with the blanket of silence surrounding the trials — held over for two years. there was almost nothing in the newspapers until the shockingly harsh sentences were handed down.

Rosie Douglas was fined $5,000 and given two years in jail. Ann Cools received a sentence of $2,000 and six months. Both are from the West Indies. Brenda Dash, a Canadian, was fined $2,000 and given a lecture about being led on by outside agitators.

At the Toronto rally, Rosie Douglas, out on $14,000 bail, made a forceful appeal for this committee to continue its work. He outlined the significance of an ongoing defense committee, and expressed his personal satisfaction with the work that such committees throughout North America had done while he was in jail.

Other speakers at the rally included Mel Watkins of the Waffle group and a member of the committee. Linda Meissenheimer, the Young Socialist president-elect of Simon Fraser University's student council, read a statement of solidarity with the black students in which she recalled a similar occupation and trial of Simon Fraser students only a few months before the Sir George Williams occupation.

The Committee to Aid the Sir George Williams students has been formed to publicize the continuing trials, raise funds for the defendants, and to educate the public on the racist nature of the trials and on the vicious attack on the student movement from which the trials originate.

It is composed of such organizations as the NDP Waffle, the Black Youth Organization, the League for Socialist Action, the Young Socialists, the Black Student Union, PLUS and CARM.

The committee is open to any individuals and organizations who want to work in defense of the Sir George Williams students. It hopes to organize major actions in the future and to organize a cross-country speaking tour for the three defendants. The committee can be contacted at 941 Bathurst St., Toronto.

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ALL AMERICAN TROOPS OUT OF INDOCHINA NOW
ALL AMERICAN TROOPS OUT OF INDOCHINA NOW
QUÉBEC TANNÉ DE L'ANGLAIS
CHEVALIERS DE L'INDEPENDANCE

'DOWN WITH CONFEDERATION' will be rallying cry in Montreal on July 1. Quebec nationalism fused with antiwar sentiment in April 24 Indochina demonstration in Montreal, shown above.

Quebec action on July 1 to protest Confederation

A mass demonstration against Confederation will be held in Montreal July 1, according to the May issue of Liberation, the Quebec Trotskyist monthly. July 1, Dominion Day, is traditionally a day of nationalist protest in Quebec.

Liberation reports a call issued by the Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes/Young Socialists for the demonstration, inviting all nationalist groups to participate in the planning and organization of the action. Already this call has met with a good response, with interest being shown by women's liberation and antiwar groups, as well as commitments from the nationalist Chevaliers de l'Independance (Knights of Independance) and the Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere League for Socialist Action. A meeting of interested groups and individuals has been called for June 2, to begin work on building the demonstration.

The LJS projects that the anti-confederation demand is most able to mobilize the largest number of Quebecois in a militant street action against Quebec's national oppression. At the same time, the LJS itself will participate in this united action with its own slogans, centered around the call for an independent and socialist Quebec.

The Young Socialists are currently organizing actions in solidarity with Quebec's right to self-determination, on the same day, across English Canada.

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Socialist Conference Aug. 20-25

B.C. hires special train for Waterloo

by Kate Alderdice
Waterloo conference coordinator

Six committees to build the Waterloo Socialist Educational Conference have already been set up in cities across Canada and more are on the way. The committees are designed to raise money, make travel arrangements, initiate local research projects and generally publicize the conference, which will bring together about 500 socialist activists from across Canada for a week of discussion, debate and recreation Aug. 20-25 at Waterloo, Ont.

A cross-country fund drive has been launched to help raise the $16,000 anticipated budget.

In Vancouver, the Conference Organizing Committee has begun to move in a big way on plans for the conference. They're planning to bring people across Canada by special train. There's even going to be a folk group on board to help pass the three-day trip. A leaflet is to be widely distributed advertising a terrific party a day after the train departure time, "somewhere in the Canadian Rockies." To go to the party you have to get on the train and come to Waterloo.

Joan Campana, student ombudswoman at the University of British Columbia and chairwoman of the Vancouver Organizing Committee, announced this week that a fund-raising campaign with an initial target of $4,000 has been launched there. A benefit is being planned and student councils in the city are being approached to help finance travel costs for conference participants. Regional organizing teams have headed out to the rest of the province to publicize the conference. In the next three weeks, a whirlwind tour of 20 towns and cities in British Columbia is projected.

Cynthia Flood, Vancouver Research Director has announced 23 research projects that the Vancouver committee is already considering or working on. The first of these, a 16-page tabloid cartoon history of British Columbia, has already been published as a supplement to the Young Socialist. The occasion for the tabloid, written from the point of view of the working people, native people and women of B.C., is the current centennial celebrations in which the Social Credit government has been spending millions of dollars to tell its side of the story.

Joan Campana

In Vancouver, like everywhere else, women are playing the leading role in building the conference. The women's liberation movement is sweeping the Canadian political scene, and giving rise to a new feminist consciousness and new thought about the role of women in the Canadian revolution. The Waterloo conference is going to be the occasion for women to get together and discuss their oppression and their struggle.

Two major lectures will deal with these questions; one will be on feminism and the coming Canadian revolution, the other a talk by Evelyn Reed, American anthropologist, on the topic "Have Women Always Been the Second Sex?" A majority of the featured speakers at the conference will be women.

Many of the research projects and discussions planned for the conference will deal with subjects relating to the struggle of women — the early matriarchy in Canada, women in the labor movement, sexuality and the role of women in the family, etc.

Women's workshops, seminars and informal discussions will be scheduled. A women's center is to be set up on the campus where women participants can gather for their own discussions.

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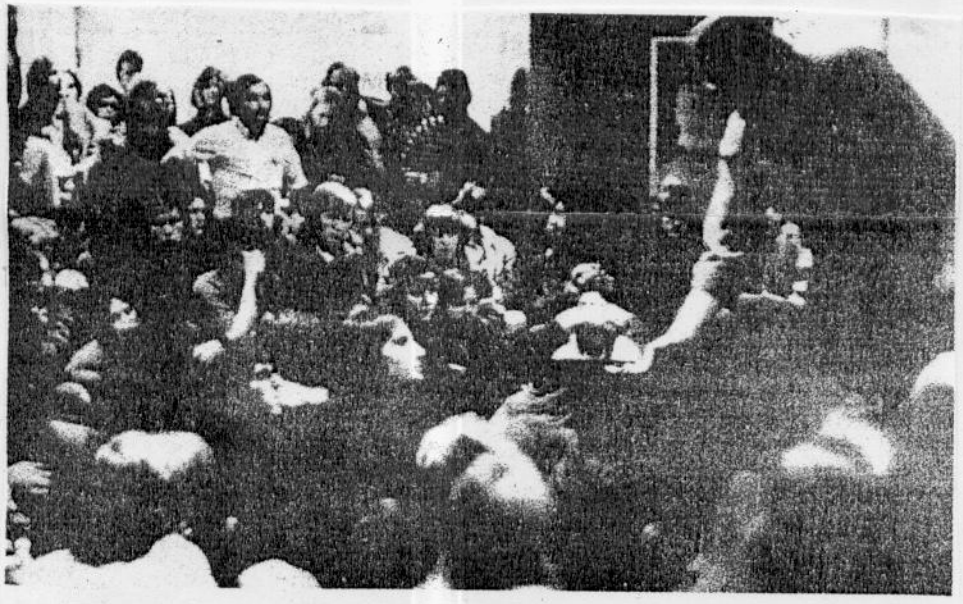
For student-faculty control

Campus activists ally with NDP



FOR STUDENT-FACULTY CONTROL OF CAMPUS. Students sit in to protest firing of Prof. John Richards, an NDP candidate in Saskatoon City Park constituency.

by Richard Thompson

The disgust of students and youth with the Thatcher government's education policy was well expressed recently by Saskatoon City Park Collegiate students who hanged Thatcher in effigy to protest cutbacks in high school spending.

Every time students have begun to struggle to change their schools and universities and to gain more control over their lives the Liberal government has intervened against them.

In 1967, after the last provincial election, the Thatcher government tried to take over direct financial control of the university.

When the students, faculty association and the employees union came out firmly against this move Provincial Treasurer Dave Steuart expressed the Liberals' view: "It is fortunate," he said, "that the University is headed by a board of governors and administrative staff that ... supports the government in its move to scrutinize university spending more closely."

He was referring to the business-dominated Board of Governors composed of Liberals and Tories to a man.

In the fall of 1968, after a summer of increased student unemployment, the demand was raised to make student loans more easily available to all students. The high cost of attending university prevents many working class and farm youth from attending university and forces many others to leave in the middle of studies. More than 1,200 students marched on the Legislative Buildings in Regina demanding: "Tax Potash, Not Students."

The Liberals refused to substantially change the Loan regulations. Thatcher threatened that if students didn't keep in their place he would "shut down the university."

For the past two years high school students have campaigned against the cutbacks in the high school budgets which have made education more and more unbearable in the high schools. Teachers have begun to oppose the cutbacks which threaten their jobs and salaries as well as increasing the teaching load. The Thatcher government's reaction has been to relentlessly continue the cutbacks. Protest

→p. 2

from students runs up against the heavy hand of the principal, backed by the bureaucratic Department of Education in Regina.

In March of this year students at Saskatoon Campus fought for the rehiring of Professor John Richards. Students from Richards' classes took their case to the University administration. The administrators refused to have an open hearing about the case, they refused to give reasons for their decision and then refused to even hold a departmental meeting open to students.

A sit-in began in the Arts building and support grew across the campus through rallies and demonstrations. The reaction of the administration was to threaten disciplinary action against student leaders. The Thatcher government gave its unqualified support to the administrators to use any means they felt necessary.

Every struggle by students to improve their conditions sooner or later runs up against the interests of capitalism represented by the Thatcher government. As long as the Liberal government is holding its heavy hand over the university even minor reforms can be won only through great effort.

The use of the university by agribusiness, potash corporations and other capitalist concerns must be challenged by student and faculty control in support of the struggles of working people. University facilities should be made freely available to women, native people, workers and farmers. The struggles of students lead toward an alliance with other oppressed groups.

That is why the Young Socialists, who are rapidly moving to the fore as leaders in the student struggles, support the NDP and work within it to win the party to a socialist program. The Young Socialists see the NDP as the political expression of a worker-student alliance that can push beyond the various reformist limits imposed on party policies by the present right-wing leadership. The NDP poses the way forward, but youth must ensure that it meets their needs and supports their struggles.

For the Thatcher government the campuses and high schools are made to serve the needs of capital. There is no "free enterprise" for high school students who have to get permission even to go to the washroom or who are forced to cut their hair upon threat of expulsion. The growing revulsion of youth with everything the Thatcher regime stands for is breathing a new spirit into the NDP. The struggles in the schools, on the campuses and among youth in general must be taken into this election to win a decisive victory for the NDP.

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development of a mass student movement, in its early stages. And this movement is not dead just because school's out for the summer. Next fall, these struggles will pick up again, and be even bigger."

Thompson, who was a leader of the fight to rehire a fired professor in Saskatoon, pointed out the lack of leadership in most of the recent protests. "The student movement is growing in numbers every day," he said, "but very often struggles are derailed by the administration or just die, because no one is there to give any clear direction. That's what we are trying to do in the YS/LJS."

The recent growth of the YS/LJS, on an unprecedented scale, is a reflection of the

Women lead Young Socialist plenum

by Kate Alderdice

Fifty-seven members and alternates to the Executive Council of the Young Socialists Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes from across Canada met in Toronto recently. It was the first plenary meeting since the YS/LJS convention at New Year's.

The most striking feature of this plenum was the discussion around the women's liberation movement and the role of women in the YS/LJS. A growing feminist consciousness is sweeping this country, and with it, a growing awareness among socialist women of the vanguard role they are going to play in the Canadian revolution.

The plenum was preceded by an all-day discussion among women members of the YS/LJS on the revolutionary implications of the feminist movement, and the importance of developing women leaders in the revolutionary movement. Already women are emerging as the leaders of the YS/LJS; during the plenum they led the discussions and gave a majority of the reports.

The plenum noted the deepening radicalization among young people in Canada. There is a growing interest in the women's liberation movement, the Quebec independentist struggle, and the movement against the war in Vietnam. Deeply involved in these movements, and playing a leading role in many of them, the YS/LJS is in a unique position to lead this radicalization.

The months just prior to the plenum also witnessed a "rebirth" of the student movement in both Quebec and English Canada. Almost every campus has been the scene of student protests, often around the issues of student control over hiring and firing of professors, and student control of university facilities.

At the Friday night Vanguard Forum preceding the plenum, five student leaders, all members of the YS/LJS, discussed these developments. Participants included Bev Bernardo, lecturer at Simon Fraser University; Joan Campana, student ombudswoman of UBC; Richard Thompson, student leader at the University of Saskatchewan; Will Offley, student leader at Dalhousie University; and Jean-Paul Pelletier, a high school student in Montreal.

Campana pointed out the increased involvement during the last term of masses of students in campus struggles. "What we are seeing," she said, "is the role it has been able to play in helping to build and lead these struggles. Since the convention five months ago, the YS/LJS membership increased by 26 percent, and eight new locals were established.

The underlying theme of all the discussions during the plenum, was the importance of building a cross-Canada leadership within the YS/LJS which can give direction to the growing student, feminist, Quebecois and antiwar movements. This leadership must in intimately involved in these movements, particularly the feminist movement, one of the most significant developments on the Canadian political scene. The plenum established as its most important task the building of a leadership which can meet these challenges.

One other big challenge faces all members of the YS/LJS coming out of the plenum; that is, helping to build the Waterloo Socialist Educational Conference taking place this August. Young socialists will be mobilizing to come to Waterloo, and helping to publicize the conference and raise money for it through regional organizing, special fund-raising events, etc. Local organizers across the country reported that almost all members plan to attend the conference.

Three members of the Executive Council were released from membership at the plenum in order to work in the League for Socialist Action Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere, and three new members — all women — were elected to replace them. They are Linda Meissenheimer, president-elect of Simon Fraser University student council, Vancouver, and Lois Alderdice and Lorna Grant of Toronto.

Jacquie Henderson

labor Challenge #33 Jun 1971

Waffle and labor militants plan strategy for unions

by John Steele

Growing rank-and-file dissatisfaction with the trade union brass took an organized expression May 16 when thirty Ontario unionists met at St. Catherines in a conference sponsored by the "Waffle" left wing of the New Democratic Party.

The conference evaluated the recent federal convention of the NDP, and discussed how the Waffle could build a solid base in the trade union movement.

The wide support registered at the convention for the organized left wing — now a permanent feature of the NDP — confirmed the growth of radical ideas in the party ranks. The support of a significant number of union delegates for Waffle candidate Jim Laxer on the fourth ballot was a warning to the conservative bureaucracy that sits on the labor movement that its leadership is no longer to be taken for granted.

The all-day conference attended by unionists from the major industrial centers in the southern part of the province ended with unanimous support for a motion to establish a permanent Waffle Labor Committee for Southern Ontario.

The NDP convention showed the need for organized Waffle support in the unions. The top brass in the Steel, Auto and other major unions, attempted to use their machine to stampede the delegates behind the NDP establishment and against the Waffle.

While trade union delegate support for the Waffle was modest, it was significant enough to indicate the potential support for a class struggle program in the labor movement to fight against layoffs, unemployment and rising prices.

Recent surveys of unionists' opinions indicate that the outlook for Waffle union support is good. Writing in the Globe and Mail May 1, labor columnist Wilfred List pointed to increasing militancy from a much more critical and aware union membership — a sharp increase in "brinkmanship" bargaining where talks go right down to a strike deadline and an increasing number of cases where the positions of union leaders are being placed on the chopping block by dissatisfied members.

An Autoworkers' international representative complained, "Lately we've been getting nothing but boos and catcalls no matter what we do." Another union officer commented, "These guys (the members) want the moon, they want to keep that burr under the saddle of the leadership."

This ferment tends to go farther than just egging on the brass to tougher positions at the bargaining table. It is resulting in challenges to local union leaderships. For example, in recent months, about 40 percent of Steelworkers' locals changed presidents and in the United States, about 60 percent. Other unions report even a higher turnover of local union presidents.

around the trade unions

A poll conducted by the Toronto Star among workers in major Ontario unions found both widespread job dissatisfaction and growing political consciousness among rank-and-file trade unionists.

Fifty-three percent of respondents said they were dissatisfied with their "station in life." Seventy-four percent viewed themselves as working class.

Only 14 percent thought the union leadership was doing an excellent job, and over 40 percent were critical. Seventy-four percent thought their union had settled for too little on the last contracts. And 40 percent said they would vote NDP if a federal election were called.

These figures are another indication of the developing possibilities for the growth of a serious left wing in the labor movement that can take on the reformist politics of the brass.

labor Challenge #33 Jun 1971

Demonstration of 30,000 recalls Paris Commune

by Louis Paquette

"The Commune lives!" cried the thirty thousand marchers who had come from all over France and across Europe to march together in Paris May 16.

They were commemorating the hundredth anniversary of the Commune — the first time the workers seized state power. But it was a commemoration unlike any other. This was no gloomy funeral march. It was a mass demonstration flowing through the heart of Paris, with its sea of red flags flying high and its marchers chanting and singing despite the heavy downpour.

By its size and militancy, the demonstration was a powerful proof of the continuing radicalization throughout Europe, especially among the youth, and of the spectacular growth in recent years of the Trotskyist movement. For the demonstration was organized by the Fourth International, by its sections throughout Europe, especially its French section, the Ligue Communiste. Another French group, the Lutte Ouvrière (Workers' Struggle), which considers itself Trotskyist, joined with the LC in building the march, and participated in the procession.

"There are not many parties in France that could mobilize close to thirty thousand people — during a weekend — to celebrate a historic anniversary," commented the Paris daily Le Monde in its May 18 issue.

The slogans carried by the youthful marchers showed the relevance and involvement of their movements in the key issues of the day: "Against imperialism, for the victory of the Indochinese revolution"; "Against the Stalinist bureaucracy, for a democracy based on workers' councils"; and — particularly relevant in the light of private discussions taking place between British Prime Minister Heath and French President Pompidou on Britain's joining the Common Market — "Against a Europe of the trusts, for a united socialist states of Europe."

The foreign contingents were given the place of honor at the head of the march, in the internationalist tradition of the Commune. A small Canadian delegation participated alongside larger contingents from Germany, Italy, Belgium, Switzerland and England. In all, over a dozen countries were represented.

To many observers, the demonstration recalled the events of May-June 1968, when the massive revolt of French workers and students almost brought down the government. The demonstration showed that in France and throughout Europe the Trotskyist movement is making important progress towards creating what was the missing element in the May-June events: a mass revolutionary party armed with the correct program.

Cuban "confession" sparks protest

The "Padilla case" in Cuba is continuing to provoke consternation and protest among friends of the Cuban revolution.

Heberto Padilla, winner of the 1968 poetry prize in Cuba, was jailed by the Cuban security police and released over a month later, after signing a "self-criticism" in which he accused himself of "egocentrism" and renounced his book as being "insidious and provocative". He went on to label two internationally-known French left-wing intellectuals, Rene Dumont and K.S. Karol, of being "agents of the CIA".

The same day Padilla was released from prison, he appeared at the headquarters of the Union of Artists and Writers to read his "self-criticism" to a hundred Cuban intellectuals and artists; he extended his public criticism of himself by appealing to certain other writers present, calling on them to confess their own "weaknesses".

This procedure and the confession "recall the most sordid moments of the era of Stalinism, with its prefabricated verdicts and its witch-hunts" declared a group of sixty intellectuals which includes Simone de Beauvoir, Jean-Paul Sartre, and Tamara Deutscher.

The sixty, all partisans of the Cuban revolution, published on May 20 a letter of protest sent to Cuban Prime Minister Fidel Castro. In it, they state: "We hold that it is our duty to inform you of our shame and anger. The deplorable text of the confession signed by Heberto Padilla can only have been obtained by means that amount to the negation of revolutionary legality and justice." In appealing to Castro to halt such injustices they state that the Cuban revolution "seemed to us exemplary in its respect for the human being and in its struggle for liberation."

"We would want the Cuban revolution to return to what made us consider it as a model in the realm of socialism," the sixty conclude.

The letter follows an earlier protest made by many of the same intellectuals upon learning of the imprisonment of the Cuban poet. In a recent speech following the publication of this first protest, Castro attacked the "bourgeois liberals" and "shameless leftists" who make such protests. In the same speech he singled out the USSR for praise for its recent aid which enabled Cuba to increase the production of electricity by 50 percent.

The text of the Padilla "self-criticism" was published in the May 24 issue of Intercontinental Press. This issue, as well as subsequent issues reporting further developments in the case, are available from the Vanguard Bookstore, 334 Queen St. W., Toronto, for 50 cents a copy.

Repeal anti-abortion laws now!

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Sixteen years of school –and what do you get?

Canada's unemployed youth in Trudeau's just society

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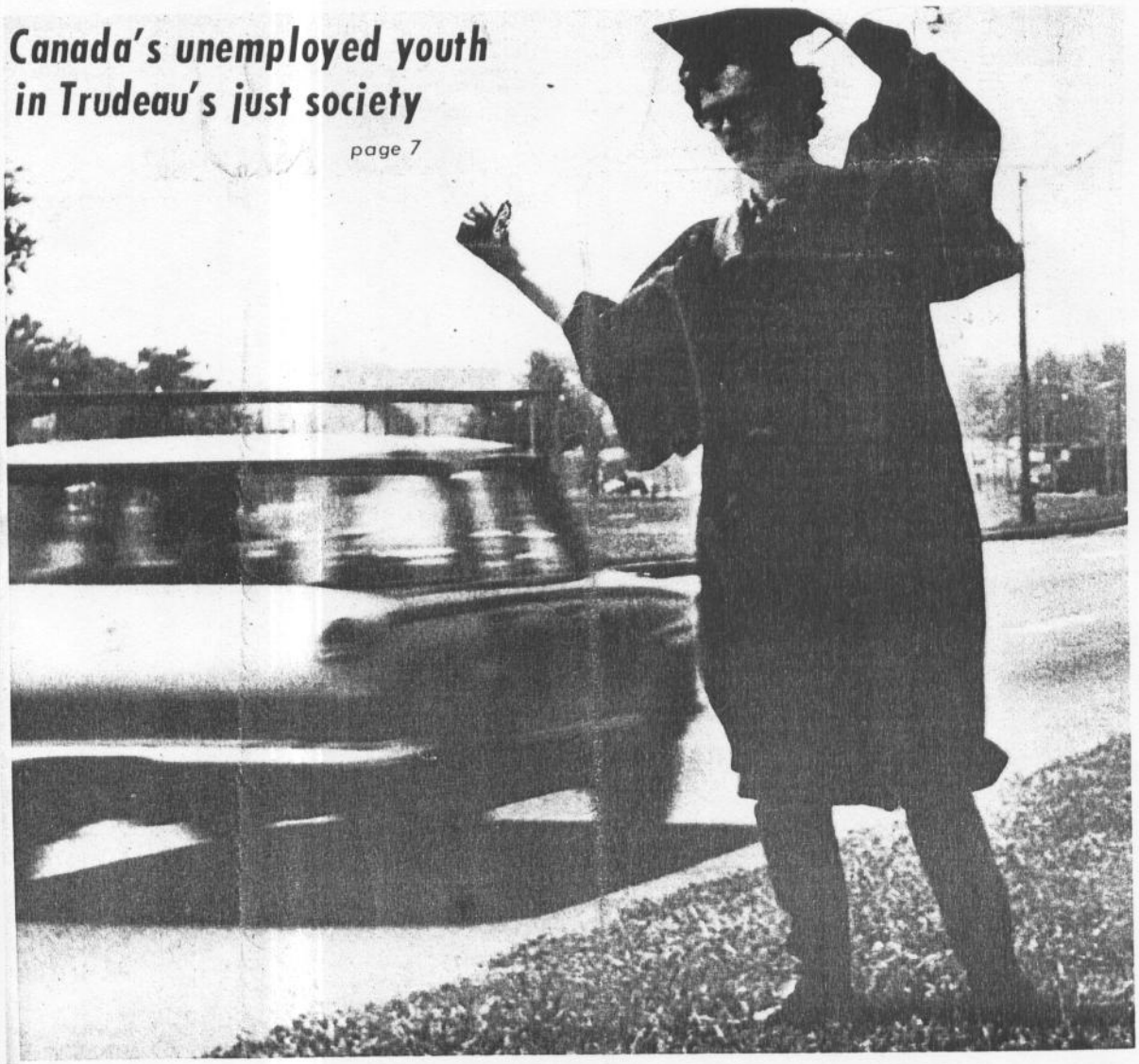

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FOR CONTROL OF OUR BODIES. Women's liberation movement, through its mass actions, has expressed desire of millions of women for the right to abortion.

Women's liberation notes

Women defy law in W. Germany

The West German legal system has begun the ridiculous process of filing charges against two of West Germany's most prominent film stars Romy Schneider and Vera Tschechova.

The two were among 24 well-known West German women — actresses, journalists, etc. — who, following a similar campaign in France have signed a declaration stating that they have had abortions in violation of the criminal code.

So far, the declaration has been signed by 374 German women, an indication of the vast sentiment for the repeal of the 1871 law which makes women who have undergone an abortion liable to five years imprisonment.

A town councillor who filed charges against one of the women declared that "West German democracy" would be discredited if the prominent film stars were not brought to trial. What could discredit West German "democracy" more than the 276 prosections that occurred in 1969 under the 100-year-old statute?

EDITORIAL

CMA vote boosts abortion campaign

by The Editors

When the leading medical organization in Canada, one of the most conservative in the country, comes out in qualified support for abortion, it is time for the women's liberation movement to mobilize.

The decision of the Canadian Medical Association in support of abortion on "non-medical, social grounds" can only be the result of the most acute pressure: pressure from the women's liberation actions over the past year and from the rapidly crystallizing sentiment among Canadian women for control of their bodies and their lives.

The about-face of the CMA is a concrete vindication of women's liberation's campaign for free abortion on demand, and for the proponents within the movement of popularly-oriented, mass-perspective campaigns. It is also a signal for us to shift the abortion campaign into high gear against the Trudeau government now.

" 'The public is not ready for this.' That was Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau's reply to the Vancouver women who waited upon him last June to demand complete liberalization of the abortion law ... Mr. Trudeau will have to find some new excuses ..." These were the comments of the Toronto Globe & Mail in a June 10 editorial. It went on: "Mr. Trudeau endeavored to make light of the CMA decision by pointing out that the vote ...was close. Yet it was a majority vote; and decisions in a democracy are made on the basis of majority votes. And since this was the majority decision of the conservative CMA, **it would probably be the majority decision of the public.**" (Emphasis added.)

Trudeau, however, has clearly indicated that he is uninterested in democratic majorities or the needs of Canadian women. He has stated that the debate on abortion "does not have priority" in the House of Commons before summer, and "may" take place in the fall.

But we won't wait for the fall session of Parliament just to listen to a long-winded, filibustered debate. The Canadian Medical Association has shown us which way the wind is blowing: its decision flows directly from the massive sentiment that has already been expressed through the campaign for free abortion on demand!

The CMA decision opens up major possibilities of involving broad new forces in the campaign, thrusting it forward to victory through a massive campaign from one end of the country to the other.

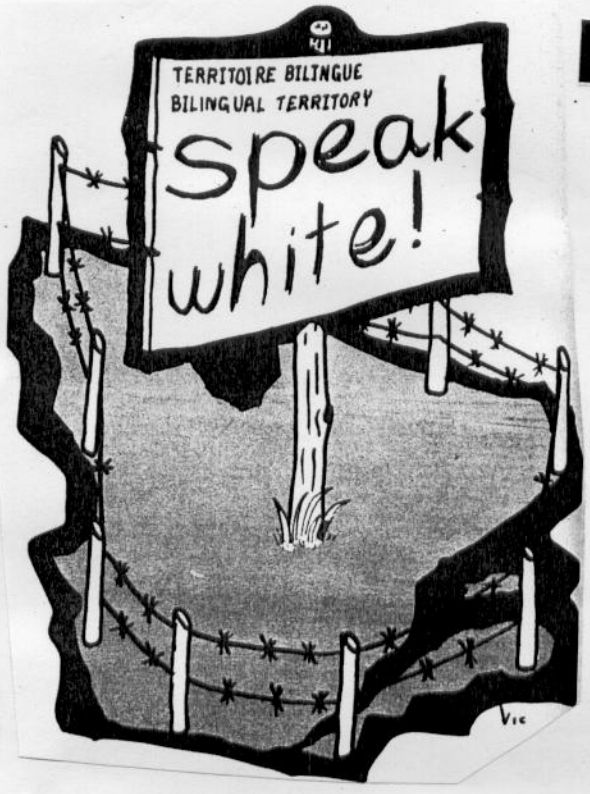
Many of these forces like the federal New Democratic Party, some trade unions, and prominent individuals, including now many medical professionals, while not endorsing free abortion on demand, have come out for repeal of the abortion laws. This is the platform around which the broadest coalition can be built.

Now is the time to confront the government, for the NDP to attack Trudeau's arrogant procrastination, and push for repeal in this session of Parliament; it's time for the riding associations and NDP Women's Liberation to organize around the federal party's official policy in favor of abortion law repeal. The women's liberation groups will find many new allies this way. They can also involve thousands of new militants by reaching out to the student women on campuses and on the road this summer.

The time is now; the issue is **repeal the abortion laws** as a first step towards free abortion on demand. By moving now, we can win the right of women to control their bodies — the bridge to the control over their own lives which underlies every other women's liberation demand.

Big business speaks English

Why the Quebecois reject bilingualism



by Dick Fidler

Almost unnoticed in the wake of the war measures crisis, the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism wound up its work this spring without submitting a final report.

The commission functioned for over seven years, and cost taxpayers about nine million dollars. Yet its accomplishments were few. Only half the reports it had promised were actually submitted, fewer than 10 of the 150 research projects have been published, and the commissioners were unable to reach agreement on their very reason for being, the constitutional question and the future of Canada.

The commission had been instructed by the Liberal prime minister of the day, Lester Pearson, to find a formula for "equal partnership between the two founding races." Was its demise an admission of failure to find that formula?

The answer may be partly found in an important research report for the commission published last year. Bearing the ponderous title "Corporate Adaptability to Bilingualism and Biculturalism," by Robert N. Morrison, it is the product of a joint study by McGill University's Graduate School of Business and the University of Montreal's Ecole des Hautes Etudes Commerciales of the use of French in the operations of private corporations doing business in Quebec, and the degree to which French-speaking Quebecois are "represented" in the administration and management of those firms.

But it is much more. For, despite the intentions of its author the study demonstrates that the national inequality of the Quebecois is rooted in the very nature of Canadian capitalism. And the statistical evidence it pulls together gives powerful ammunition to the growing number of Quebecois who see the solution to their oppression in the most far-reaching anticapitalist measures — nothing less than a socialist revolution!

Reason enough for Trudeau to dissolve the Bi and Bi!

The study is based on a detailed examination of over 40 large manufacturing firms in all major industrial sectors with "significant" operations in Quebec. Each employs at least 500 workers in Quebec. About one-third operate exclusively in Quebec and adjacent French-language regions.

Classified according to the nationality of their owners, the greatest number of firms are English Canadian, employing 46 percent of the 164,000 workers covered in the survey. They are followed by U.S.-owned firms, 39 percent of employees, and British-owned, 11 percent. Bringing up the rear are six French Canadian-owned firms, accounting for 3 percent total employment, and three firms owned by foreign French capital, accounting for 1 percent employment in the sample. The French-Canadian firms, by the way, comprise virtually all the large French-owned firms in Quebec meeting the criteria of the sample. All firms, with the exception of four English-Canadian and three U.S. companies, have head offices in Quebec.

The report confirms that French-speaking Quebecois are scandalously underrepresented in industry, and that this underrepresentation increases drastically the higher up one goes in the administrative-management hierarchy. Concentrating on the 20,000 salaried workers in the sample making $5,000 or more a year, the report finds that only 36 percent are Francophones (French-speaking), and that this proportion declines to 15 percent or less in the $15,000-plus bracket. Yet 85 percent of the total labor force is Francophone in Quebec, and over 60 percent in Montreal.

The proportion of French-language employees in the firm varies sharply depending on whether it is owned by French or English capital. Just over half (58 percent) of the employees of English-Canadian firms with headquarters in Quebec are French-speaking, whereas 93 percent of the employees of French-Canadian firms, 84 percent of foreign French firms, have French as their mother tongue.

Morrison shows that the degree to which French is used as the language of communication in the firm is directly linked to the degree of Francophone representation in administration, management, and ownership. The predominance of English-speaking capital means that of 872 "work areas" defined in his study, French is the working language in only 10 percent, while 58 percent function in English only and 34 percent function in the two languages. Thus, while in the entire sample 43 percent

'Sedition' acquittals defeat for Trudeau

JUNE 15 — Charles Gagnon and Jacques Larue-Langlois were acquitted by a jury today of charges that they conspired to overthrow the Quebec government by force. This is another important blow at the government's pretense of an "apprehended insurrection" last October. Of the "Montreal Five," the main post-October defendants, only Vallieres is still charged with seditious conspiracy; he is accused of conspiring with Gagnon and Larue-Langlois, just acquitted of the charge.

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Big business speaks English

Why the Québécois reject bilingualism

(from Labor Challenge, June 1971)

by Dick Fidler

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Thus, while in the entire sample 43 percent of the 164,000 employees are French-speaking, for most of them a fluent knowledge of English is a job requirement.

In a study of "mobility" — that is, promotion of employees into higher income brackets and the administrative hierarchy — Morrison finds that the mobility rate of Francophones is only about three-quarters that of Anglophones. More significantly, he finds that exclusively **within Quebec,** it is lower still, even in firms operating only in Quebec. That is, Anglophones are promoted much more rapidly in Quebec-based firms than Francophones who nonetheless constitute the vast majority of the work force.

There is even a tendency for English-Canadian firms to move English-Canadians into management posts in Quebec, rather than promote French-Canadians to those positions.

Much of this has been known for some time, if not statistically detailed. But in recent years, there has been a big increase in the number of French-speaking graduates in engineering, science and commerce, and large corporations have advertised a desire to recruit more Francophones into senior staff positions. Surely, Morrison hypothesizes, the proportion of qualified Francophone management personnel has had a tendency to increase.

But the study finds instead that over the 2-month period studied in the mid-1960s, there was a notable **decline** in recruitment of qualified Francophones. Moreover, "the number of French-Canadians moving into senior positions in large firms is proportionately less than the total number now employed in these positions."

Morrison comments on underlying attitudes: "The reasons are not entirely clear, but in many cases the employers' requirement of bilingual ability, coupled with the rather cool *(alienated –ed.)* image many young French Canadians have of 'big business,' tends to predispose them against working for large firms."

Undoubtedly a major reason why young Québécois are "cool" to big business is that in Quebec, Capital speaks English.

Is the situation changing? Is it becoming easier for a unilingual Francophone to advance? Examining the language of business, Morrison concludes: "Our study shows that changes are occurring, and that they are in the direction of bilingualism in every case studied, not in the direction of either unilingual French or unilingual English."

Ironically, this growing "bilingualism" seems to increase the English hold on business. For example, the firms studied are spending a quarter-million dollars a year on language courses. Half this amount is spent by English-Canadian firms with head office in Quebec. "Virtually all of this was for courses in French for English-speaking employees." In other words, it is designed to accelerate the promotion of Anglophones since senior management is now expected to know a few words in French. Thus "bilingualism" serves as a bar to the advancement of French-speaking Québécois.

This "bilingualism" is a fraud. "Virtually everyone interviewed reported that

the courses have **not** been successful as far as the ability to speak French is concerned." But it is considered worthwhile anyway.

"They believe that the morale of French-speaking employees is greatly improved if senior management people can greet them with a few words of French in the elevator or during a tour around the plant, or if the president or vice-president can make a short speech in French at an employees' meeting."

"With a few exceptions," the report concludes this aspect of the study, "unilingual English-speaking employees can rise right to the top of an organization," whereas "in most cases, unilingual French-speaking employees are able to rise to the level of foreman."

Bilingualism, then, is at best a one-way street. At worst, for the majority of Québécois, it is gradually and inexorably turning into a dead-end.

The Morrison study documents the blatant discrimination faced by the Québécois. For a growing number, not only is a knowledge of English essential for promotion beyond the rank of foreman, if not to get the job in the first place, but once having mastered this foreign language, they are still barred from the top posts in management.

So thoroughly has this consciousness of discrimination penetrated every layer of Québécois society that success or failure are actually thought of in terms of language. A few years ago, a team of psychologists at McGill tested the reaction of a mixed group of Québécois to a voice speaking first in English, then French. To the English-speaking voice the Québécois reacted almost solidly as a group, describing the individual behind the voice as being of large size and having the qualities of a rich and well-educated leader. The same voice in French evoked the anonymous image of an employee of the former.

The development of Quebec nationhood is bound up with the defense and extension of French language rights.

Morrison's study shows convincingly that there can be no widespread use of French as the language of business and industry unless and until French-speaking Québécois dominate management. And his study demonstrates that this will only happen if and when those industries are transferred from English to French ownership.

What forces can and will bring about such a transformation? It will not be the Québécois capitalists, dependent on English capital and its control of the state power, in the last analysis the guarantee of their class, rule. The Counseil du Patronat *(employers council)* recently issued a statement categorically opposing demands that French be legislated as the language of industry on the grounds that the "English language is and will remain the priority language of business" in Quebec.

For them, as for English-speaking capital, "bilingualism," the preservation of English

language privileges, is their means of ensuring that Quebec remains a preserve for profitable exploitation —| even if it threatens extermination of the French language and Québécois nation in the long term.

The demand for Quebec ownership means a workers government that nationalizes the leading sectors of industry, puts them under the control of the Québécois workers, and develops them in the interests of the Québécois.

That is the logic of the demand, increasingly raised in Quebec labor struggles and now the policy of such labor bodies as the 250,000-member CNTU *(CSN),* that French be made in law and in fact the language of work — as a major step toward a Quebec where every social activity, the school system, public services, industry, functions in the language of the Québécois.

The battle lines are drawn. The Trudeau government, under cover of the Official Languages Act, has declared the whole of Quebec a “bilingual district” effective August 2. The struggle for a French Quebec has only begun.

(end)

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Saskatchewan election

Labor, farmers rally to NDP

by Howard Brown

SASKATOON, June 11 — The Saskatchewan election campaign is well under way, and the response to the New Democratic Party is excellent. NDP rallies have been very well attended — particularly in areas where the NDP has not been traditionally very strong.

Working people are looking for an alternative to the "Liberal Depression," as the NDP has been calling it. And they are not looking very long at the Progressive Conservative party, which has fielded only a few candidates.

The issues in this campaign are very much as Premier Ross Thatcher defined them: "Free enterprise versus Socialism." Over the past four years of Liberal government working people have fought against capitalist rule through the National Farmers Union, the trade unions and other movements. Will Saskatchewan working people allow big business to ride roughshod over them for another four years — or will they fight back in this election through the NDP?

Will Saskatchewan workers allow themselves to be whipped into line in the interest of the Liberal government's business friends? The Liberal party has promised the institution of "labour courts", complete withdrawal of the right to strike. In this election the Saskatchewan Federation of Labor is supplementing its campaigns and demonstrations against Thatcher's slave labor laws with political action. The SFL and local labor councils have organized a campaign to bring the NDP to power in this election.

Will farmers continue to allow themselves to be driven off the land by the tens of thousands? That is what capitalism in agriculture means for Saskatchewan. The National Farmers Union has mobilized thousands of Saskatchewan farmers against agribusiness in the past four years, and those farmers will come out to vote against the party of agribusiness and for the NDP.

Resource development, an issue popularized by the Waffle group within the New Democratic Party, has been key in the NDP campaign. The NDP has exposed the scandalous subsidization of private capitalists in the development of the Saskatchewan resource industries. These capitalists are all backing Thatcher completely. "The NDP," stated Saskatoon University constituency NDP candidate John Richards, "seeks the approval of the people rather than the foreign companies which control the industry."

Likewise, the government-established cartel in the Saskatchewan potash industry, which instituted pro-rationing (agreements to limit production) and threw potash workers out of work, has drawn considerable fire from the NDP. And while many NDP candidates draw only vague conclusions from their expose of resource development under capitalist government, the logic of their position inevitably poses the nationalization of the pulp and potash industries, and the development of Saskatchewan resources through public ownership.

The NDP is hitting hard at a number of other important issues in this campaign. While the Liberals have been free with subsidies to big business, spending on social services has been drastically cut. The NDP is campaigning hard against deterrent fees imposed by the Liberals to undermine the Saskatchewan medicare scheme, and against the cutbacks in education spending. It has promised to drastically reduce present regressive property taxes. It has emphasized the burden of unemployment, which strikes particularly hard at young people, and has driven thousands of people out of the province in search of work.

There are many criticisms that can be made of the conduct of NDP candidates in this campaign. The NDP's spokesmen (and unfortunately they are all men), have given inadequate attention to the struggles of the trade union movement, of farmers against agribusiness and to the demands of the growing student movement. And the NDP leaders have failed to articulate the party's excellent program for women's liberation adopted at its last convention. They have been unwilling to direct all of the growing discontent into demonstrations and mass rallies to bring the NDP to power.

Yet supporters of the "Waffle" caucus are hard at work in the campaign, putting forward their position to the electorate on an individual basis. And the League for Socialist Action and the Young Socialists are building the NDP campaign.

The ferment among workers and farmers in the province, the growing movement of women against their oppression, the revolt of youth against summer unemployment and authoritarian schools, show that a big increase in the NDP's popular vote is very possible. The NDP stands an excellent chance of winning this election.

FARMER-LABOR UNITY can defeat Thatcher and elect an NDP government.

Rally June 19 to mobilize youth support for NDP

Members of the Young Socialists and the League for Socialist Action are hard at work for the NDP in the campaign. The special issue of Labor Challenge with the slogan "Elect Sask. NDP to Power" on its masthead is being widely distributed in Regina and Saskatoon. Response to the issue is good, and some campaign workers in Saskatoon City Park constituency have asked to display copies in their committee rooms. Tours have been organized into the countryside, to participate in the campaign, to distribute Labor Challenge at NDP ralies, and to popularize the Waterloo Socialist Educational Conference.

The Young Socialists have announced that an outdoor Socialist Youth Rally will be held on June 19 to discuss the NDP program as it affects youth. In addition, the Young Socialists and the LSA will participate in a big "welcome" for "Colonel" Ross Thatcher when he visits Saskatoon.

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B.C. NDP marks time as Waffle retreats

by Laura Searle

VANCOUVER — Dave Barrett was re-elected leader of the B.C. New Democratic Party at its annual convention here May 28-30. His leadership was uncontested. At the last minute, the left-wing "Waffle" caucus, which had earlier voted to run a candidate of its own, pulled back and decided not to oppose him.

Despite his long record of opportunism and his refusal to mobilize the legislative caucus in support of labor's struggles,

photo by White

JOYCE MEISSENHEIMER. Waffle member criticizes Barrett.

Barrett is supported by a substantial section of Waffle supporters. At a Waffle meeting on the first night of the convention, Barrett supporters swarmed in packing the meeting and were instrumental in reversing the earlier decision. About 50 delegates voted to uphold the decision.

At a subsequent caucus meeting, North Vancouver delegate Joyce Meissenheimer introduced a motion which was adopted by the caucus and presented to the convention, censuring Barrett for his "right-wing, antilabor position" and saying that the group's decision not to run a candidate against Barrett didn't mean it fully supported his policies.

Deprived of a focal point for its intervention, the Waffle failed to play a leading role in the convention debates. Waffle candidates for vice-presidential offices were defeated by Barrett supporters. Dave Stupich was re-elected party president over Waffle candidate Harold by 196 to 120.

As a result, none of the issues which have deeply divided the party over the past year was brought any closer to being resolved. In particular, there was no debate or even direct reference to the key differences over the character of the party, which has pitted the Barrett wing, with its concept of a "people's party" relatively independent of organized labor, against the trade union leadership in the B.C. Federation of Labor who correctly see it as the political arm of the trade unions.

The delegates supported a resolution calling the removal of cabinet authority (as under the hated Bill 33) to end strikes and lockouts, and called on the party to give full support, inside and outside the legislature, to workers' rights to free collective bargaining, including strikers who resist being forced back to work by cabinet order.

Resolutions on women's rights were crammed into the workshop on human rights and cultural affairs, where most were ignored, only to be later referred to the incoming provincial council. Similarly there was no workshop on international affairs and no time was set aside in the plenary session for their discussion.

Panel workshops, potentially a means to widen membership participation in policy discussion, were bureaucratically controlled by right-wing chairmen. But an interesting feature of the convention was the large number of delegates who chose to take a stand on issues that was independent of the blocs led respectively by the provincial office and labor brass. Unfortunately, in the absence of strong leadership from the Waffle around a clearly defined program, these forces were left without a clear alternative.

Socialist literature sells well despite obstruction by brass

by Gary Porter

VANCOUVER — Party officials did everything they could to stop the sale of socialist literature at the NDP convention, but they failed. Sales at the Young Socialists booth were brisk, particularly the special B.C. Centennial issue of the Young Socialist newspaper, entitled "One Hundred Year Rip-Off."

Twice refused permission to set up a literature table, the Young Socialists circulated a petition appealing to delegates to support their right to publicize their ideas. The delegates then voted in convention to overturn the executive's decision to exclude the YS.

Then it was the turn of officials of the University of British Columbia, site of the convention. They said the YS must pay a special fee. Following the intervention of UBC student ombudswoman Joan Campana, a member of the Young Socialists, the NDP officials paid the fee.

Later, on the phony pretext that the YS was "troubling" UBC officials, who continued to harass them about alleged YS violations of its selling permit, party officials got delegates to reverse their previous decision to allow YS literature sales.

The revolutionary socialists of the YS and the League for Socialist Action were the only left tendency to intervene openly in the convention, urging the delegates to identify firmly with the new radicalization of youth, women, Quebecois and labor struggles. An LSA leaflet distributed to delegates spelled out policies in all these areas and called on the Waffle to carry forward the socialist program by contesting the Barrett leadership

Socialist Conference Aug. 20-25

Tours, demonstrations build toward Waterloo

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by Kate Alderdice
Waterloo Conference coordinator

Trudeau caught a glimpse of his approaching "Waterloo" in Toronto June 7. In town to speak to the Canadian Manufacturers Association, his hotel was picketed by students demanding that the federal government open up universities to travelling young people over the summer, and in particular that the government finance the Waterloo Socialist Educational Conference, to be held Aug. 20-25.

"The people who have embarrassed Trudeau across the country demanding jobs, an end to Canada's complicity in the Vietnam war, and free abortion on demand, are going to be at Waterloo this summer. We demand that the government meet its responsibility to Canadian youth by funding this conference, and opening up all universities to youth," stated the leaflet distributed during the action.

Two members of the Waterloo Organizing Committee, Kate Alderdice and Ellie Kirzner, attempted to reach Trudeau to present the committee's demands, but were turned aside by police. The following day, demonstrators turned up in Hamilton (where Trudeau was addressing Liberal Party faithfuls) to press their demands.

In Vancouver a regional organizing team has just returned from a tour of the province to publicize the conference. Linda Meissenheimer, a member of the team, announced that five people have requested to join the Young Socialists as a result of the tour, and another 150 are interested in the YS and in the Waterloo conference. The Young Socialists in B.C. are presently considering hiring a full-time B.C. regional organizer, whose most important job, right now would be publicizing and raising money for the conference.

This conference is the first cross-country gathering of students since the conferences of the now-defunct Canadian Union of Students. It is an important opportunity for students to discuss the new upsurge on the campuses and to prepare for the protests and campaigns that the fall term will bring.

But it will also be much more than a student meeting. The lectures and discussions will center on the dynamics of the struggle for socialism in Canada, and on the role of the revolutionary movement.

The cross-country organizing committee has announced the main speeches for the conference. They are: "The New Radicalization and Where it is Heading" by John Steele; "The Meaning of Life - a Marxist Analysis" by George Novack; "Have Women Always Been the Second Sex?" by Evelyn Reed; "Feminism and the Canadian Revolution" by Jacquie Henderson; "Quebec: The Struggle for Independence and Socialism" by Manon Léger; "Fifty Years: Building a Revolutionary Party in Canada" by Ross Dowson; and "How to Make a Revolution in Canada" by Joan Newbigging.

The success of the conference depends on the financial contributions of conference participants and supporters. A cross-country fund drive has been launched, with a quota of $5500 to cover the projected deficit.

We are asking individuals and organizations to make, not a donation, but an investment in the Waterloo conference. McMaster University student council in Hamilton has already donated $280 for the conference. That's a great start but more is needed. Cheques should be made payable to: Socialist Educational Conference, 334 Queen St. W., Toronto.

photo by MacInnis

TRUDEAU MEETS HIS WATERLOO when socialists hold major educational conference this summer at U of Waterloo. This was demonstrators' message when prime minister spoke to Canadian Manufacturers Association recently in Toronto.

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Contact socialists in your area

BLACK'S HARBOUR, N.B., YS, c/o Esmond Cavanaugh.
BRANDON, Man., YS, Box 95, Brandon University.
EDMONTON, Alta., LSA/ YS, 9686 Jasper Ave., 424-7644.
FREDERICTON, N.B., YS, Box 1521, 454-9270.
GUELPH, Ont., YS, c/ o Jim Onyschuk, 108 Woolwich, 822-1035.
HALIFAX, N.S., YS, 2587 Robie St., 422-9836.
HAMILTON, Ont., LSA, YS, 41 King William, Rm. 23, 528-2060.
KITCHENER, Ont., LSA, YS, Box 921.
LONDON, Ont., YS, 580 Talbot, #2, 672-4695
MONTREAL, Que., Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes, 226 est, rue Ste-Catherine, 861-3018.
ORILLIA, LSA, YS, Box 835.
OTTAWA, Ont., LSA, YS, 788 Somerset W., 232-9945.
PETERBOROUGH, YS, 567 Aylmer, 743-7367.
REGINA, Sask., YS, Box 623.
RICHMOND HILL, Ont., LSA, Box 281.
TORONTO, Ont., LSA, YS, 334 Queen St. W., 363-9618 or 364-5908.
SAINT JOHN, N.B. YS, c/ o Nancy Ouellete, 512 Havelock St., West Saint John.
SASKATOON, Sask., LSA, YS, Box 704, 242-8175.
SUDBURY, Ont., LSA, YS, Box 691.
ST. CATHARINES, Ont., LSA, Box 622.
VANCOUVER, B.C., LSA, YS, 1208 Granville St., 688-5924.
VICTORIA, B.C., YS, c/ o Cliff Mack, 2713 Rock Bay Ave.
WINNIPEG, Man., LSA, YS, 211 Graham Ave., 943-7791.

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